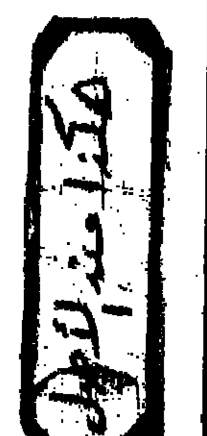


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

...berg, 17 July 1983
...ty-second year - No. 1091 - By air

Maintaining stability crux of Kohl's Moscow mission



...espite all the clashes and pitfalls in East-West ties, Bonn's hot line to ...cow has been in constant operation ...the early-1970s.

...roughout this period the Federal ...blic of Germany has been the Rus... favourite partner for talks with ...ern Europe.

...is is a privilege that even deep...d clashes of interest and lasting dis...ntments have failed to erode.

...istorical and geographic, security ...economic policy considerations ...gained a weight of their own and ...the groundwork for a working rela...hip both sides have found easy to ...tain.

...has been a relationship of dialogue ...cooperation that has benefited poli...stabilisation in Europe.

...nn's contribution toward this rela...hip has consisted of being abso...y predictable in the foreign policy ...ext and of abiding by the impera...that the Federal Republic must on ...count impose any extra burden on ...West ties.

...put it more dramatically and to ...the Bonn Chancellor during his ...this month to Moscow: "Never ...must war break out from German ...

...ugh though the Moscow talks may ...been, the initial impression creat...y the meeting between Helmut ...and Yuri Andropov is that of a ...nued desire on both sides to ex..., or at least not to jeopardise, what ...lready been achieved in normal re...ns and cooperation.

...th the German Chancellor and the ...et leader chose to continue in prin... the policies devised and pursued ...eir predecessors.

...hancellor Kohl's deeper aim was to ...d out the prospects in this connec... in what were the first talks between ...estern leader and Mr Andropov as ...Kremlin leader.

...e returned satisfied and reassured, ...ough a general proviso remains that ...apply to any judgement, no matter ...tentative.

...is that no-one knows whether the ...ge-over from Mr Brezhnev to Mr ...ropov has been completed, politi...y speaking, or how long the new So...leader's health will enable him to ...inue in office.

...esides, Mr Andropov's remark that ...cow's relations with Bonn will be...e more difficult if US medium-...ge missiles are stationed in Western ...ope cannot simply be dismissed as a ...or consideration.

...nevitably the missiles dispute at ...es entirely predominated the course of talks. There is no ground for breathing a sigh of relief, nor one for upset, that no really new aspect came to light in this part of the talks.

Herr Kohl combined his viewpoint on missile modernisation with a call for greater Soviet readiness to compromise in Geneva.

Conversely, the Soviet leaders threatened Warsaw Pact counter-measures if the West were to go ahead and station new intermediate-range US missiles in Europe.

So far this has primarily been understood to mean the stationing of shorter-range Soviet missiles in Warsaw Pact states to the west of European Russia.

Bonn is not represented at the Geneva talks, but can its ties with Moscow develop regardless of the overall climate of East-West ties?

Experience has shown that all bids to strike a political balance between East and West depend on the general climate of international relations.

Political detente, experience has also shown, seems sure to mark time unless some progress is made in disarmament and arms control negotiations.

The impetus of military agreement is badly needed.

In Bonn's case one is bound to add that in the Brezhnev era Moscow invariably accepted the Federal Republic's unswerving membership of Nato and participation in Nato decisions as a constant feature of Bonn's foreign and security policies.

It seemed as though the Soviet interest in establishing cordial ties with Bonn was partly due to the expectation that Bonn would wield its weight and influence within the West on behalf of detente.

Whether Mr Andropov and the Soviet politbureau share Mr Brezhnev's assessment entirely will depend in part on the outcome of the Geneva talks.

It will also depend on whether negotiations on medium-range missiles can be carried on into the New Year despite a start having been made, asseemspossible, on stationing the new missiles in Western Europe.

A temporary twofold Russian strategy cannot be ruled out.

It would consist on the one hand of quasi-sanctions on Bonn in the atmospheric sector up to and including intimidating speeeches reverting to Cold War terminology on account of German support for missile modernisation.



Chancellor Kohl (left) in Moscow with Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. An interpreter is at Herr Kohl's left. (Photo: dpa)

The other side of the coin would be tacit continuation of cooperation, especially economic cooperation, which is of substantial importance to the Soviet Union.

After a temporary decline, trade between Bonn and Moscow was up by 23 per cent in 1982.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff's visit to Moscow just before the Chancellor's was a pointer to keen Russian interest in boosting trade ties between the two countries.

At all events the general threat of missile modernisation overshadowing bilateral ties must not necessarily affect all aspects of cooperation.

If remains to be seen whether Moscow will use its control over East Berlin to impose a stranglehold on intra-German ties in the event of political counter-measures, as it has often done in the past.

Herr Kohl really jumped over his own shadow in giving the go-ahead for the billion-deutschemark no-strings-attached loan to the GDR to avert or at least minimise this risk.

In doing so he cast to the winds his past principle that Bonn could not possibly make concessions without East Berlin making concessions in return.

Erich Honecker, the East German leader, badly needed this hard currency loan but would not, one is bound to add, have been able to take up the offer without prior approval being given by Moscow.

So Herr Kohl showed willingness to improve ties both with the GDR and in the sense of his visit to Moscow, and he was applauded by all sides.

There can naturally be no such thing as a reliably predictable scenario for relations with the Soviet Union in the wake of missile modernisaton.

But there must be no doubt that Bonn is determined to abide by the basic principles of its policy toward the Eastern bloc.

They are principles designed for long-term use and cannot be discontinued for repairs devised on a short-term basis in the wake of temporary setbacks.

Consistency and viewpoints designed to outlast the decade are focal points of Ostpolitik principles.

This was the line Helmut Schmidt chose to take in advocating a 25-year economic cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union during Mr Brezhnev's 1978 visit to Bonn.

It was designed to symbolise a policy of cooperation devised to be continued well into the future.

The Kohl government was right in January to agree, by a Bonn Cabinet decision, to renew for a further 10 years a number of cooperation agreements that were due to expire this year.

For both Herr Kohl and Mr Andropov their Moscow talks were more than an important opportunity of getting to know each other better.

For the Chancellor it was an outstanding opportunity to end all doubts lest the change that is his declared intention in any way relate to ties ties with the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

For domestic reasons Herr Kohl and many Christian Democrats feel reluctant to talk in terms of continuity after having so staunchly opposed the treaties with East Bloc countries a decade or so ago.

Yet in fact Herr Kohl has for years virtually ceased to attack the substance of his predecessor's foreign policy.

He strongly opposed Helmut Schmidt on matters of style, accusing him of taking part in what he felt was a deceptive detente and of having put to sleep awa-

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

■ EUROPE

EEC is making headway despite denials

The European Community has made headway over the past six months even though professional pessimists on European integration may deny it.

There will always be unsolved problems in an association of 10 or more countries. What counts is the progress that can be registered.

Bonn took the EEC chair in the New Year. It may not be exclusively to its credit that several hurdles have been cleared despite the many difficulties. But the balance is a respectable one.

The importance of the Solemn Declaration on European Union that was eventually approved by the Stuttgart summit is widely underrated.

The declaration, the result of a joint Bonn/Rome initiative, incorporates European Political Cooperation (EPC) in the European Community's institutional framework.

EPC has brought about a progressive coordination and harmonisation of foreign policy in recent years. It is to be extended to security policy.

There are common viewpoints on East-West problems, especially the CSCE conference in Madrid, on the dialogues between Europe and America and on the exemplary cooperation with Asean in South-East Asia.

The Common Market countries agree in many sectors of North-South affairs and on policy at the UN; on the Middle East and on the situation in hot spots in Asia, Central America and Africa.

Detailed agreement was recently reached on regular cooperation between consular and diplomatic missions in non-EEC countries.

These points all make the European Community a mainstay of international stability.

The EEC countries' common foreign policy may still be capable of further development in many respects but it already commits member-countries to a high degree of continuity above and beyond domestic changes and changes of government.

This considerably limits the leeway for individual Common Market countries to go it alone.

Western Europe thus exerts a benevolent influence on its Big Brother on the other side of the Atlantic, where foreign policy tends to be particularly unpredictable.

This is because US foreign policy is heavily dependent on domestic policy considerations and on the desire of newly-elected Presidents to pursue policies of their own.

If there can be any talk of a definite improvement in the transatlantic climate then it can but be, for the most part, a rapprochement by the United States to European positions.

This in turn can be attributed in part to the Ten's efforts to arrive at a uniform foreign policy.

There has also been progress on the EEC's domestic front. The long-disputed common fishery policy has at last been put into effect.

The supplementary budget for 1983, including offset payments to Britain for 1982 and the 1983-84 farm price review, has been approved.

The European Monetary System withstood a severe strain in carrying out the exchange-rate realignment last spring, while the European Social Fund has been successfully rejigged to place the emphasis on fighting youth unemployment.

The European Community spoke with one voice at the Williamsburg summit, having made greater headway toward harmonisation of national economic policies.

This was due in part to the DM10bn EEC loan to France and the increase in investment loan capacity to DM7.5bn.

Moves have been undertaken to consolidate the domestic market, especially by way of long-term research promotion, which is essential if the EEC is to maintain its international competitive position.

Preparations have been made to extend the Community's foreign trade tool kit with a view to protecting the Common Market from unfair practices by other countries.

Initial, significant success has been achieved in EEC environmental policy, on which member-countries have agreed to combat atmospheric pollution.

In the steel dispute at least a temporary compromise was reached, while the Solemn Declaration included cultural and legal policies in the EEC's purview.

Last but not least, the deadline for the next elections to the European Parliament was agreed. Polls are to be held throughout the EEC in June 1984.

The financial dispute remains unsolved, and with it attendant problems such as the drafting of new Community policies, relieving the burden on Britain and Germany of inordinately high contributions, revising the farm budget and expanding the EEC to include Spain and Portugal.

The Stuttgart summit nonetheless succeeded for the first time in stating all these problems in an orderly relationship and thereby establishing realistic prerequisites for their solutions.

During Germany's chairmanship the troika principle was first consistently implemented, that of close cooperation between the outgoing, sitting and designated chairman of the Council of Ministers.

That is a further contribution toward continuity and also makes it easier for smaller member-countries to handle the technicalities of chairmanships.

Europe's progress toward integration remains arduous and stony, but it is not a blind alley.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 1 July 1983)

Continued from page 1

redness of security policy threats from the East.

The impression he created, especially in the East, was that of being profoundly opposed to Chancellor Schmidt's Ostpolitik.

But such suspicions do not stand up to detailed appraisal. Since taking over as Chancellor Herr Kohl has constantly reaffirmed the consistency of German foreign and security policy, particularly with regard to the East.

He has done so in his government policy statements, in the agreement he has reached with Foreign Minister Genscher and by virtue of his international activities.

In this context Chancellor Kohl has yet to put a foot wrong, as far as one can tell.

The Chancellor will not be judged solely by what he himself says, of course. When Interior Minister Zimmermann tells expellees that the Bonn government continues to include German Eastern territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line in the German Question, the Chancellor must call him to order.

Legal niceties must on no account be confused with the policy actually pursued by the Bonn government.

The predictable nature of Bonn's foreign policy was a characteristic that paid dividends for the Chancellor in Moscow.

The main obstacles to cooperation in greater confidence is the imbalance of power in Europe. The Soviet SS-20 missile and the problems it entails symbolise the limitations of Ostpolitik to date.

But the Chancellor was keen to maintain as much cooperation as possible between Bonn and Moscow in sectors other than arms.

Unless the signs are entirely misleading the hot line between Bonn and Moscow is still operational.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 8 July 1983)

Kohl and Genscher co[...] through question time

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher emerged virtually unscathed from their appearance before the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

They were there to brief MEPs on the six months during which Bonn had chaired the Council of Ministers and the European Council.

In particular they outlined the outcome of the Stuttgart summit.

They were praised by the conservative Christian Democrats and grudgingly acknowledged by the Liberals but condemned by the Socialists and slated by the Communists.

The resolution approved after the review was that MEPs were, in the final analysis, dissatisfied with the results at Stuttgart.

But it was a resolution couched in terms as soft as butter, one with which the Council of Ministers and the heads of government could live with. It could have been much worse.

The European Parliament has its back to the wall with a year to go before fresh elections in which the turnout could be so low as to be disastrous.

If MEPs are to prevent turnout in the 434 constituencies from proving abysmal they will need to accomplish some measure of success by which to justify their existence.

It will not be easy. Since the beginning of their first term as directly-elected Euro-MPs European integration has not only marked time; it has gone downhill.

The most important points are well enough known. They are, for instance, the reform of Common Agricultural Policy, universally demanded but yet to make the slightest headway.

EEC bids to fight unemployment in Europe have been as conspicuous by their absence as has a satisfactory European policy on effective environmental protection.

Instead there are growing signs of member-governments going it alone, and national protectionism poses a threat to the customs union.

The overwhelming majority of MEPs are keen to end this.

But their recommendations are usually blocked by the Council of Ministers.

The European Commission is more cooperative, but as it is appointed by the 10 member-governments [...] the European Parliament i[...] dependent on the Council of [...] and correspondingly complia[...]

Thus there are constant d[...] ween the Parliament and the [...] culminating in legal proce[...] MEPs against the Council fo[...] on transport policy.

But these squabbles betwe[...] pean institutions go largely [...] by the electorate, who are con[...] the blame with the European [...]

If MEPs are not given m[...] than they have so far enjoy[...] bourg is sure to remain wha[...] have always accused it of bei[...] mocratic fig-leaf for the Comm[...] ket countries.

Not long ago most MEPs we[...] dent they could make enough [...] with their existing rights, [...] their right to reject the EEC b[...]

All they needed to do was [...] out the Common Market b[...] Strasbourg policies would be [...] in Brussels.

The European Parliament m[...] ly be sufficiently energetic, if [...] by voting out the entire Europ[...] mission (even though the Co[...] Ministers was entitled to reinst[...]

But this strategy of uncom[...] gly using all existing rights [...] outmoded. It is increasingly [...] in Strasbourg that nothing b[...] legislative powers can free th[...] ment from its bonds of impot[...]

A commission is accordin[...] a European constitution that [...] ed as largely superseding the [...] Rome.

The draft is to include [...] Euro-MPs feel they need: [...] sions by the Council of Minis[...] subject to Europarliamentary [...] to treaties between the EEC a[...] countries being subject to ratifi[...] Strasbourg.

Any such constitution seems [...] remain mere paperwork for so[...] At a time when the powers that [...] spending most of their time pr[...] the total collapse of the Comm[...] ket a European constitution is [...] starter.

The recession is clearly to bl[...] prompts member-government [...] alone.

Opportunities of making re[...] way on European integration [...] ing the European Parliament [...] powers were squandered when [...] nomy was booming.

Rainer [...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, [...])

The German Tribun[e]

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief [...] Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English [...] sub-editor: Simon Burnett – Distributio[n] [...] Georgine Picone

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH 23 Schöne [...] Hamburg 76. Tel.: 22 85 1 Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 14 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich [...] Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA b[y] MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, [...] 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE [...] published in cooperation with the editori[al] [...] leading newspapers of the Federal Republic [...] ny. They are complete translations of the origin[al] [...] no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your [...] number which appears on the wrapper, [...] asterisks above your address

[O]pinion surveys indicate that the Bonn coalition has even stronger [sup]port than it had in March when it returned to power.

[B]ut what has actually changed? [Na]...ily, little happened directly after the [elec]tion.

[R]adical policy changes after a change [of g]overnment are the exception rather [than] the rule.

[In] any event, the changes now have [bee]n gradual. If there has been any [...]a it concerned the accompanying [circu]mstances rather than the political [substa]nce.

[W]hat appears conspicuous at first [...]e is not the differences but the si[mila]rities: the conflicts between coali[tion] groups are as tough as before. Per[haps] they are even a shade more out[spok]en and open to public view.

[Whe]n Bonn ministers and state prime [minis]ters make no effort to hide any[thing]. Interior Minister Friedrich Zim[mer]mann and Justice Minister Hans [Eng]elhard clashed over the new crimi[nal] code provisions for demonstrations. [E]conomic Affairs Minister Count [Lam]bsdorff and Bavaria's Prime Minis[ter] Franz Josef Strauss are at logger[hea]ds over *Deutschlandpolitik*. [La]mbsdorff and Labour Minister [No]rbert Blüm are haggling over social [secu]rity pensions.

[T]here is also the conflict between [bud]getary and economic policy makers [on] the one side and those in charge of [soci]al affairs on the other — very much [as i]n the old government — though the [...]s have meanwhile shifted.

[So]cial benefits that were the subject [of] tug-of-war in the Schmidt-Gens[cher] government have already been cut [...] new economy measures are being [dis]cussed.

[T]here is, however, one difference that [canno]t be overlooked. Things that trig[gered] week-long press campaigns and [con]stant speculating on now long the [gove]rnment would last raise little dust [toda]y.

[N]obody thinks that the present coali[tion] is in jeopardy. These disputes are [part] of everyday coalition life and are [on] occasion treated as no more than [...]ing. There is little evidence of any [conf]lict within the cabinet and in com[mitt]ee work.

[In] any event, the media are treating [the] Kohl government with unusual kind[ness] providing an atmosphere in which [...]us criticism bogs down.

[Fo]r example: the European Summit, [first] trumpeted as a success and later [see]n in a more realistic light, resulted in [no]thing but a major breakthrough. [Wha]t it amounted to was the temporary [and] costly prevention of a clash.

[Su]ch a summit would have earned [the] previous government miserable [mar]ks.

[Bu]t Chancellor Kohl (who admitted[ly cu]t a fine figure at the meeting) was [celeb]rated like something akin to a mi[racle] man. To have prevented a major [failu]re was seen as a triumph.

[Th]is does not mean that the new go[vern]ment failed in Stuttgart; it does, ho[weve]r, mean that European policy has [rema]ined as difficult as ever.

[Alt]hough the new chancellor shows a [mor]e pro-European stance there has [bee]n no change in procedure.

[T]here was more public moaning [abou]t what Helmut Schmidt did in Eu[rope]. Otherwise conditions and differ[ing] interests remain the same.

[T]he fact that Chancellor Kohl goes [muc]h more out of his way than his pre[dec]essor to cultivate relations with [Fra]nce's President Mitterrand (they [have] had more than ten personal meet[ings]) has to do with the desire to show all consideration for Germany's most important neighbour and importer of German goods. This is a continuity that no German government can afford to break.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Surveys show government support on the rise

A conspicuous change in foreign policy is the fact that the public and semi-public discussion over Bonn-Washington differences has almost ceased. There are no more mutual accusations, and German-American relations have become more haarmonious and person-to-person relations between politicians more relaxed.

The SPD says that the price paid for this is that German interests are no longer promoted as emphatically as before.

Government circles deny this. They say that the lack of public controversy has enabled Bonn to exert more influence.

In any event, the new government has kept East-West trade flowing. But the actual test will be the outcome of the Geneva missiles talks.

Naturally, the new government — like the old one — wants to see the Geneva talks succed, as a matter of principle and because an accord in Geneva would make Kohl unassailable for years to come.

But the success of the talks does not depend only on Bonn. This is a fact that was driven home to Helmut Schmidt as well.

While the new government has harmonised relations with the West the verbal stance towards the East has become more — and perhaps too — outspoken; and the once more fashionable somewhat careless.

The question now is: when will the liberation and unification rhetoric clash with the trade policy towards the East and the drive to achieve human easements which Kohl obviously wants to continue?

What matters even more than the vocabulary used by Bonn is the state of relations between the superpowers — relations that have for some time been unpredictable.

Here, too, Kohl's problems do not differ much from those that confronted Schmidt.

The change is somewhat more pronounced in the domestic affairs sector, though less in terms of legislation than in terms of the rhetoric in which political actions are couched.

The crux in the dispute over the new demonstration laws is not so much the amendment of the existing laws but the politically dangerous wish to cope with anticipated political unrest in the autumn through tougher police action. There is something symbolic about the timing and the objective.

There are also differences between this and the previous government that express themselves in minor details such as the instruction that postmen should be properly uniformed in future and the change in film promotion in favour of unobjectionable films with public appeal.

All this shows the intention to reshape the nation. The silent majority is starting to bare its teeth.

There have also been many changes in taxation, fiscal and social policy and the finance minister and a number of other cabinet members have benefited little from the holiday. The redistribution in favour of business has made progress. The outward manifestations of this are the rehabilitation of the budget and a supplyside economic policy.

But here, too, it becomes obvious that the reorientation can only go so far. The new policy is not sweeping but it has considerably intensified the trend to curb spending that was already evident under the Schmidt government. The SPD could not have gone that far.

There is nothing to indicate that the present government has completed its austerity measures. Nor is there any indication of an economic upturn and declining unemployment rates.

The balance sheet is sobering and less spectacular than announced in earlier speeches. It is not an outstanding balance sheet.

Even so, the new policy has not made the public turn its back on the government. If opinion surveys are anything to go by, the coalition now has a stronger backing than it had in the March election. It seems that economic problems and joblessness hurt right-wing governments less than lett-wing ones.

Somewhat embittered, the SPD observes that the trade-union protest against social outbacks was stronger under a social democratic than under a conservative chancellor.

Essentially, the Social Democrats are at a loss now as to what sort of political concept — especially on economic affairs — could corner a majority for their party.

Kohl's "unity" rhetoric still softens tough decisions. But gradually the country is becoming polarised and emotions are emerging.

What will happen if the hot missiles autumn is followed by a cold winter of joblessness?

The "change" that initially appeared to be the continuation of the old policy in a new coalition will eventually turn into a different policy.

There is lightning in the sky. Alfred Dregger's remark about a social democratic "stab in the back" directed against the Western Alliance, Heiner Geissler's nasty remark that it was pacifism that made Auschwitz possible and Bonn's reaction to the violence of a few hundred political rabble rousers during US Vice President Bush's visit bear witness to this.

It is quite possible that the mood in this country will be very different by the end of the year: The nation will be divided into two camps without bridges to link them.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 1 July 1983)

Bonn backs big credit deal for East Berlin

The Bonn government has underwritten DM1bn in bank credits to East Germany. This mean that the GDR now gets access to foreign exchange that it was highly unlikely to get elsewhere.

It was a totally unexpected move by the Kohl government. Why? There was no apparent insistance on getting something in return.

In taking this step it has ignored a repeatedly stated principle: *Deutschlandpolitik* must be governed by a clear something-received-for something-given attitude.

There are several possible reasons: did Bonn give in to a threat, perhaps that German-German ties would drastically deteriorate if American missiles were deployed?

This is most unlikely because it would have meant the GDR was prepared to violate treaties, including those governing Berlin and, hence, involving the Soviet Union.

Insolvency would thus have been aggravated by an open breach of treaty, which is not likely because East Berlin has always tried to maintain a reputation, of not breaking treaties.

Has East Berlin perhaps somehow lured the Bonn government? The GDR does not appear to have offered anything discernable in return. There is some talk of secrecy pledges. Rumour has it that Bonn wanted to spare East Berlin the embarrassment of having to grant Germans some of the human rights it has so for stubbornly denied them. Time will tell.

What else could have prompted Bonn's new government to depart from its *quid pro quo* principle and replace it by the principle of mutual trust?

Chancellor Kohl and State Minister at the Chancellor Office Philipp Jenninger, who is in charge of contacts with East Germany, are not given to wishful thinking. Moreover, they don't make the decisions alone.

CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss played a major role in bringing about the deal, and there are indications that he at times even intervened in the talks.

Only a few weeks ago it was Strauss who accused the GDR of murder after a West German visitor died following interrogation at an East German border checkpoint.

There are indeed sound reasons sto grant the loan. One of the assumptions in Bonn is that the government and Strauss hoped that the credit will enable them to have some influence in the GDR.

This concerns not only East Berlin's domestic policy but also that of the Federal Republic of Germany. By taking an active part in backing the credit, Strauss also changed the political course of the coalition.

All of a sudden, the CSU no longer occupies its traditional right wing but has shifted its position to the "left" — despite the fact that such terminology is not applicable in *Deutschlandpolitik*.

The FDP cabinet members had no choice but to agrees.

A Strauss who no longer occupies the right wing but promotes a new *Realpolitik* between the two German states instead of sticking to a policy of principles and legal titles could soon become an annoyance to the Liberals and their foreign minister.

Next month, when Strauss is due not only to visit Poland but also to spend three days in Dresden, East Germany, could provide some clues.

It would certainty be a minor sensation it Strauss were to meet East Germany's Erich Honecker and if such a meeting had positive results.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 July 1983)

■ GERMANY

Mixed feelings as nuclear-free declarations spread to church, garden and creche



Some 50 municipalities in Germany have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. Nuclear-free schools have been declared. So have training facilities for apprentices, gardens, streets and churches.

It is all part of the peace issue which has become a major bone of contention in many local councils around the country.

Encroachment of the peace issue into town halls is regarded by some as communist infiltration and a weakening of the nation's defences.

Others see it as peace signals from the public at large, a symbolic action against the lunacy of the arms race.

One sceptic is former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. After the Hamburg borough of Eimsbüttel had declared itself nuclear-free, Schmidt suggested to councillors that they should send a city map to the Soviet Defence Ministry so the Russians would know where the border of neighbouring Harvestehude was.

Eimsbüttel's decision was forced through by Social Democrat and Green councillors. That is the normal pattern. Often, German Communist Party (DKP) councillors are involved.

Councils outside the big cities are mainly involved. The issue stands no chance in cities like Stuttgart or Frankfurt where the CDU holds a sound majority. A similar SPD motion in Bonn was turned down.

There is a widespread controversy, however, over whether such motions may be voted on at all in town councils. The Bonn Interior Ministry answers the question with a clear no and even goes so far as to say that this is the sort of thing that puts the nation's defences in jeopardy.

According to Parliamentary State Secretary Horst Waffenschmidt, resolutions to declare a city a nuclear-free zone amount to a "usurpation of authority in matters of defence policy, motivated by party politics and ideology." Such authority, he says, rests solely with the Bundestag and the Bonn Cabinet.

Waffenschmidt gets backing from Article 73 of the Constitution which gives the Federal government and the Bundestag the sole right to make decisions on defence matters.

Communists blamed

Spokesmen at CDU party headquarters stress that the SPD's drive to achieve at least propaganda successes should stop short of violating the Constitution.

The Bonn Interior Ministry under Friedrich Zimmermann puts the lion's share of the blame on the DKP which in its view masterminds the moves.

Though it is certain that the DKP has finger in the pie, the movement actually spilled over from Britain and was adopted in this country in the 1950s by the Easter Marchers and the Ban the Bombers.

The SPD leadership naturally sees it all in a different light.

Peter Glotz, the SPD's general secretary, interprets the movement as "signals from the citizens against a continuation of the lunacy of the arms race."

As Glotz sees it, the municipalities have every right to take public fears into account and act accordingly.

At SPD headquarters, these initiatives are not seen as a substitute for concrete political measures to bring about disarmament but as helpful supporting moves.

Some SPD town councillors point to their party's Godesberg manifesto of 1959 which spoke of an inclusion "of the whole of Germany in a European zone of détente and controlled arms limitation. Such a peace zone would be cleared of foreign troops and nuclear weapons once Germany has been reunited in freedom."

The controversy concerns not only the political quality of such resolutions but also their legality.

This has once more focussed interest on the Constitutional Court ruling of 30 July 1958 in which the justices restricted the authority of municipalities to local community affairs.

According to the ruling, a municipality would exceed its legal authority by "adopting resolutions on supra-regional and highly political issues."

But the ruling also says that a municipality can take action against any "concrete intention" to establish on its soil a military installation like "a launching device for nuclear warheads."

It is thus difficult to arrive at a clear-cut decision in the controversy. But a municipality would clearly be in breach of the Constitution if it declared itself an absolutely nuclear-free zone and tried to implement this with all available means.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, the legal position, which is complicated to start with, was complicated still further by a decree issued by State Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor (SPD).

Last December, Schnoor decreed that municipalities commenting on defence matters exceed their authority.

But, according to his ambiguous directive, there is no need for supervisory authorities to intervene in [...] because municipal decisions [...] ture have no effect in law.

Schnoor overlooks the fa[...] chief administrator of a m[...] has the right to oppose a co[...] sion.

If the council decides to [...] decision, the administrator ha[...] final decision by the supervis[...] rity.

North Rhine-Westphalia's [...] nister, Johannes Rau (SPD), [...] decisions to declare a munic[...] nuclear-free zone illegal but [...] as understandable that town co[...] might want to discuss the issue.

The discussion over n[...] zones has been in progress [...] mid-1950s. It is closely linked [...] names as Adam Rapacki, G[...] Kennan, Herbert Wehner, [...] Khrushchev, Urho Kekkonen [...] late, Olof Palme. All of them [...] nuclear-free zones several hun[...] metres wide.

Today's municipal initiatives [...] times content themselves with [...] than ten metres. The idea is t[...] not that would one day cover t[...] nation.

They attach little importance [...] tical and legal aspects as lo[...] issue is a focal point of discuss[...]

Ekkehard [...]

(General-Anzeiger Bonn[...])

Scientists ask government not to allow the missiles

More than 3,000 scientists have appealed to the government not to allow missiles to be stationed in Germany if the arms talks fail.

They made their appeal at the end of a meeting in Mainz. However, there was no clear answer to the question of whether many were putting forward their views as scientists or as citizens.

Of course, scientists are also citizens, and the nuclear issue is not an experts' monopoly. But the public attaches weight to what scientists say. This weight is even greater because politicians and strategy experts have lost credibility.

And when old authorities such as these fail, new ones emerge: the peace movement, the clergy, trade unions and scientists.

But while conviction and sentiment are enough to lend legitimacy to the apprehension of the others, scientists are subject to the rules of their disciplines — especially when they raise their voices as scientists. Findings must not only be felt, they must be proved.

It is here that the difficulty lies. Scientific proof is almost impossible in politics.

Nuclear deterrence, its effects or its failure, is not a technical or scientific but a psychological and political problem: a deterrent functions if the other side takes it seriously.

The criteria are subjective and in flux; and even scientists are in no position to present scientific proof.

Fortunately, there is nothing with which to prove anything: nobody knows what a nuclear world war would be like; and when we know it will be too late for mankind.

The cause-and-effect type of evidence

DIE ZEIT

(also a favourite of the peace movement) can therefore not apply here.

This is also true of the repeatedly raised argument in Mainz that the decision on a nuclear holocaust will not be made by a person but by a computer.

The political leaders in Washington and Moscow have done all they could to ensure that the decision will rest with them alone.

Scientific arguments are useless in trying to prove the opposite, and anybody wanting to prove this would have to fall back on the public's conviction.

As a result, many of the speakers in Mainz tried to bridge the gap between that which can be proved and the unprovable with political conviction. Thus the "concerned citizen" made his appearance in the cloak of the "objective scientist."

But there probably has to be a combination of the two if the search for a rational way of mastering the nuclear age is to continue. This cannot be achieved without personal commitment nor can it be achieved without respect for facts.

Much of what was said in Mainz was peripheral to the issue and much was important.

Those unfamiliar with the destructive powers of a nuclear explosion were told about it by experts who explained the effects of a Soviet SS-20 or an American Polaris missile.

What mattered even more was the attempt to arrive at an overall picture.

Professor Dürr of the Munich-based Max Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics (one of the initiators of the meeting), said "As scienti[sts ...] used to dealing with extremely [...] systems. That sharpens one's [...] of critical points."

The most important of the [...] points for the scientists w[...] accuracy and the speed of [...] siles. The latter allows only [...] warning period.

The Mainz appeal stresses th[...] if there is little likelihood of [...] ful first strike, this development [...] a destabilisation of the balance [...] rence which is questionable [...] with."

Another thing to come o[...] meeting was the suggestion ca[...] change of the armament to "[...] non-aggressiveness." Wha[...] amounts to is putting the em[...] arms technologies that promote [...] without eroding military securi[...]

But this analysis does not su[...] total rejection of deploying ne[...] iles in Europe as demanded in [...] peal. At best, the analysis appli[...] 108 Pershing II missiles earm[...] deployment. When fired fro[...] Germany, they would need [...] minutes to reach a target in the [...] Union.

It does not apply to the 46[...] missiles that would need sever[...] to cover this distance and sho[...] fore meet the criteria of the d[...] armament mentioned earlier.

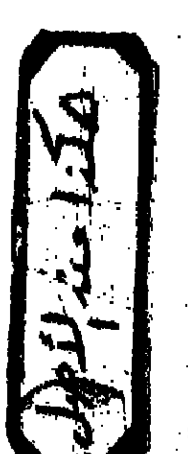
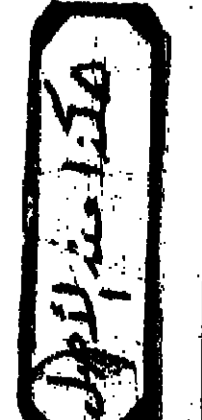
It was the worked-up citize[...] than the cool scientist who spo[...] Nobel Prize winner Linus Pa[...] received a standing ovation [...] said: "Refuse the Cruise."

But even so, the committed c[...] Pauling rarely fully displaced th[...] tist. What impressed him most, [...] participant, was the matter-of[...] in Pauling's line of argument.

Hans-Peter Dürr: "I went [...] with a certain apprehension." [...] meeting was businesslike and [...] well serve as an example for co[...] citizens dealing with this issue.

Christoph B[...]

(Die Zeit, [...])

DEFENCE

Simulator training in all three services means war practice without casualties

[T]housands of school-leavers soon to be conscripts can have little idea [wha]t training facilities are available in [toda]y's modern armed forces.

[El]ectronic simulators are increasingly [used] in the Bundeswehr, and manning a simulator or a mock-up of an air[craft] cockpit is a far cry from parade [a]nd drill.

[It] saves money, prevents accidents [and d]oes much less damage to the envi[ronm]ent than the real thing.

[Th]e soldier's face is bathed in sweat [as he] mans the controls of a Leopard 2 [tank] as it plunges through the forest.

[It] is a quagmire. Were it not for thick [tree] trunks in the soil the tank would [...] itself to a standstill. It tosses and [...], making slow headway.

[Su]ddenly the soldier loses control of [the] 40-ton tank. It rams a tree, leaves [the] track and grinds to a halt in the [...]

[L]ife is not so easy for a learner-driver [who] is learning how to drive a tank with [...] Coy in Augustdorf. The soldier [strug]gles out of his seat, gingerly feels a [few] bruises and breathes a sigh of relief. [I]n real life he could well have written [off] the tank, not to mention himself. In [a si]mulator he is unlikely to suffer more [than] a few cuts and bruises.

[Si]mulators were first used by the [Luf]twaffe and the Bundesmarine but [ha]ve long been part of the Bundes[weh]r's trainig facilities too.

[T]heir role is outlined by Lt-Gen. Ger[...] Wachter, 54, commanding officer [of th]e 110 000 men of I Corps stationed [in] Hamburg, Bremen, Lower Saxony, [Schl]eswig-Holstein and North Rhine-[Wes]tphalia.

["S]imulators," he says, "are there to [help] the men to stay psysically, mental[ly a]nd technically fit to cope with an [eme]rgency we hope will never happen."

[C]omputers and simulators also con[tribu]te toward cutting arms costs and [redu]cing the lever of environmental [pollu]tion and contamination by the [Bun]deswehr.

[Ta]nk simulators are driven indoors, [with] startlingly natural landscapes on [proje]ctor screens.

[H]elicopter pilots in a simulator cock[pit n]egotiate turbulence and fire laser [miss]iles at a cinema screen inside an [aircr]aft hangar.

[Si]mulator training is strikingly realis[tic in] all three services, but it can only [be a] substitute for just over half the [bona] fide practice the men have to put [...]

[Ev]en so, it saves time, effort and [mone]y. In Augustdorf alone over 1,400 [men] a year who hold no more than a ci[vilia]n driving licence take 10-day cour[ses i]ncluding time at the controls of the [...]ard tank simulator before taking [their] test as tank drivers.

[Th]ey spend an eight-hour day at the [cont]rols in the lurching simulator cock[pit tr]ying to control their tanks in the si[tuati]on flashed on to the screen.

[Th]ey are taught to handle intermit[tent] upsets such as engine fires, plum[metin]g oil pressures, faulty brakes and [...]nes.

[Th]ey then spend 16 hours watching [their] fellow-learners manage at the mo[nito]r screen and are given four hours' [pra]ctical training on board a real tank [in o]pen country.

After theory and maintenance instruction they are then sent back to their regular units.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

A conventional course of training on board a Leopard tank costs about DM20,400 per head. A course including simulator training cuts costs to only DM7,600.

The Bundeswehr has run four such simulator centres since 1977, saving roughly DM72m a year in training costs and DM2.1m in fuel.

These figures are for the Leopard Mk 1. The Defence Ministry is confident that simulator training for the Mk 2 will cut costs correspondingly.

Conventional training to drive the Leopard 2 costs DM54,000 per man, but simulators have yet to be taken into service.

Bundeswehr helicopter pilots-to-be in Bückeburg are put through their paces indoors in simulated cockpits of Bell UH-1-D choppers.

The simulators are housed in a hangar, so "flights" are not affected by the weather. There are no accidents either, and little or no noise.

The cockpits are shaken hydraulically to simulate turbulence. Artificial lightning illuminates the darkened cockpit.

Hail seems to be drumming on the helicopter roof.

The trainee pilot curses under his breath on noticing from his instruments that he has engine trouble. He is having trouble enough as it is keeping the 'copter on course in heavy side winds.

Simulator training costs DM179 per hour. Airborne training logging bona fide flight hours on board a helicopter costs DM1,243 per hour.

Over the past eight years about 79,000 flight hours have been simulated in Bückeburg, so the saving is DM60m or so.

So the simulator, including its computer, has paid for itself six times over.

A similar facility is in operation at an army airfield near Celle where Bo 105 P anti-tank helicopter pilots learn how to use their DM30,000 Hot guided missiles.

Radio and telecom mechanics and electronics specialists have put together target and firing evaluation systems for a mere DM300 each using conventional parts.

A dirty pane of glass is kept rotating by a barbecue grill motor, simulating flight movement even though the 'copter is stationary in its hangar.

Another helicopter anti-tank training system using moving targets projected on to a screen landscape is more expensive. It cost DM200,000.

Firing is laser-simulated, which makes it independent of the weather, noiseless, accurate and harmless in that no-one can be injured by mistake.

Since 1981 these devices have cut training costs by roughly DM3,6m, including 3,000 flight hours at DM1,200 each.

Ammunition costs nothing at all. It is all done by electronics.

Anti-aircraft specialists are not to be outdone when it comes to cutting costs in this way. Ammunition is expensive and missiles can hardly be fired for practice.

So a few computers and monitor screens that simulate what the pundits call a defence situation provide an opportunity of checking how anti-aircraft and ground-to-air missile batteries would fare in practice.

11 Anti-Aircraft Regt in Achim, near Bremen, is equipped with Gepard (Cheetah) flak tanks that cost a small fortune.

But gunners learn by simulator how to handle their radar-controlled weapon system and fire guns and missiles at electronic targets.

This saves fuel. It also saves the cost of sending up aircraft as targets, which is DM4,000 per hour.

Simulators and electronic training aids are by no means inexpensive. They are complicated too. But General Wachter sees them as a means of keeping his men well-trained despite skyrocketing costs.

They also keep wear and tear of arms and equipment down to a minimum. "Cash is in short supply," he says, "and there is unlikely to be so much more of it around in future."

Klaus Wittkamp

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1983)

For fighter pilots, The Thing brings the dogfight to life

Green and red aircraft zig-zag across the monitor screen. Atmospherics are heard over the loudspeaker. A voice croaks: "Porsche One. There's a bandit to your rear. 15 miles."

The warning comes too late. The red aircraft is the bandit and has already aimed and fired a yellow arrow on the screen.

Lightning indicates a hit. The word "kill" appears and a coffin lid lights up. "Dead" it proclaims, adding the name of the green aircraft's pilot.

The man in front of the monitor screen presses a button. We now share the view from the cockpit of the red aircraft, an F 5 interceptor.

On the horizon the outline of a green Phantom jet can be made out. It too is the target of a yellow missile. But the message on the screen is "no kill." The target was out of range.

In a video war games parlour this is the point at which you would have to put another coin the slot for a further five minutes of aggression.

But the aerial dogfight seen on this monitor screen is actually in progress. The aircraft are airborne; only the missiles and the firing are computer-simulated.

Forty-five seconds after being knocked out on the screen the dead come back to life and return to the fray. The action is taking place over the Mediterranean west of Sardinia.

"There are times when fighter pilots could do with four hands," says Eberhard Eimler, commander-in-chief of the Luftwaffe.

But he doesn't mean in the air. He means in the evening at the mess when pilots tell each other with expressive gestures of the arm and hand how they outmanoeuvred and shot down the enemy.

At the mess the winners are usually the ones with a good line of patter to go with the gestures, and General Eimler admits to having spun a yarn or two himself in his time.

"But we have all climbed down a peg or two now we have the Thing," he says. The Thing cost $25m to install at Decimomannu, a Sardinian air base.

Air Combat Manoeuvring Instrumentation, or Acmi, is its proper name, and it consists of ground computers and monitor screens, relay stations mounted on buoys in the exercise area and a container slung under aircraft wings in place of a missile.

All important data, such as speed, direction and position of the aircraft, rate of ascent or descent and acceleration are radioed to the central computer, which marks them up graphically on one screen and in figures on another.

The data of aircraft and missiles are programmed. The course of battle and all data are recorded on magnetic tape.

The voice over the loudspeaker is that of a control tower officer warning pilots of danger seen on a conventional radar screen.

His job is also to ensure that no-one inadvertently leaves the exercise area, which is out of bounds to civil aviation.

The man who presses the buttons at the monitor is an experienced flying instructor who debriefs pilots, gives tactical advice and points out mistakes.

Pilots can no longer tell tall stories. The tapes are there to show at speed or in slow motion just where they went wrong.

Every enemy plane knocked out can be proved to have been a bona fide hit, just as it can be seen after the event when a kill could have been made.

The cost of the US-made installation has been shared by the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy.

Sardinia has the best manoeuvre facilities in Europe. Where in Germany could supersonic fighters swoop and fight it out at 2,000 metres?

It is not just that thousands of window panes would be shattered by supersonic bangs. Civil aviation would be impossible too.

There is more space over the Mediterranean, and the weather is good nearly all the year round as well.

So the Luftwaffe has transferred most of its fighter training to Decimomannu. The aggressor squadron of American F 5 fighters is a special feature of the training.

The F 5s are similar in performance to MiG 21s and their pilots are trained in East Bloc tactics. Their aircraft even have Warsaw Pact camouflage.

American love of detail does not stop at this point. A red star adorns the helmets of bandit crews.

A. Szandar

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 July 1983)

■ THE THIRD WORLD

Lots of words exchanged at Belgrade conference

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) in Belgrade was a depressing spectacle. The 4,000 delegates from 160 countries started off by wasting four weeks on a huge palaver about the world economy and development in the Third World.

For much of the time, the conference dealt only with itself. It produced tons of documents. The developing countries forming the Group of 77, the Western industrial nations and the East Bloc, (the last group has entered into no commitments whatsoever) talked at cross-purposes.

The conference eventually shifted into high gear just before it was supposed to end. Chaos ensued. And since the conference had to be extended it became more expensive than originally planned.

In the end, a couple of dozen resolutions had to serve as an alibi. But they cannot gloss over the fact that the conference was a failure.

Like the previous meeting in Manila, the Belgrade conference was doomed to failure because such a large and long-winded event cannot deal with the vital problems of the world-wide economic slump, the disrupted development in the Third World and the excessive indebtedness of developing countries.

There was even a shortage of useful suggestions that could have enlivened the debate on revitalising the world economy. Resolutions are of no use to the people in the Third World. They relieve none of the hardship.

The marathon session in Belgrade has once more shown that such conferences cannot achieve much.

There should have been less friction at Belgrade than at previous Unctad conferences: This time, the Group of 77 did not enter the conference blaming the rich industrial nations for Third World woes.

"Revitalisation and development" was the original motto under which industrial and developing countries were to discuss joint measures to prevent the decline of individual countries and the world economy as a whole.

But then the Group of 77 once more came forward with a whole bundle of previously drafted resolutions that boiled down to the old demand for more payments by the industrial nations and for a New International Economic Order that would provide for a more equitable international division of labour and monetary system — all this to be achieved by central control mechanisms.

To overcome the crisis, the Third World nations demanded an immediate programme involving a minimum of $90bn.

There can be no doubt that the hard-pressed countries of the Third World need assistance from the industrial world — now more than ever before. Despite their own financial problems, the industrial nations must therefore not discontinue their development aid.

Bonn's 1984 budget takes this into account.

It has increased the development aid budget by more than average for the entire budget.

The industrial nations must also continue to lend a helping hand to the poorest of developing nations in emergency cases or when they find themselves unable to service their debts.

The West will continue to try to increase its financial aid to the Third World, as promised in Belgrade.

But it must reject the huge and costly programmes demanded by the Group of 77, which it did in Belgrade.

The purse strings will remain tight — and not only because the coffers are empty. Aid donors cannot help doubting whether the rescue projects proposed by the developing countries would really do any good.

It would have been unreasonable in Belgrade to expect of countries whose economic systems are based on free enterprise to agree to the economic recipes of countries with systems that are diametrically opposed to free enterprise.

The wrong approach in the concept of the Group of 77 boils down to the fact that these Third World nations want to solve global economic problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems primarily with more money.

The measures demanded by them are not only costly but must also accelerate inflation

The Group of 77 delegates make the same mistake as Willy Brandt's North-South Commission.

What Unctad is

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) is a permanent body of the UN General Assembly with seat in Geneva. It is financed from the UN budget and its members comprise all member-nations of the UN and its agencies.

Unctad is administered by a Secretariat.

Its, the function is to promote world trade and economic development in the Third World.

Its main aims are to overcome the North-South gap through more development aid, to achieve stable commodity prices and to obtain preferential trade and tariff status from the industrial world.

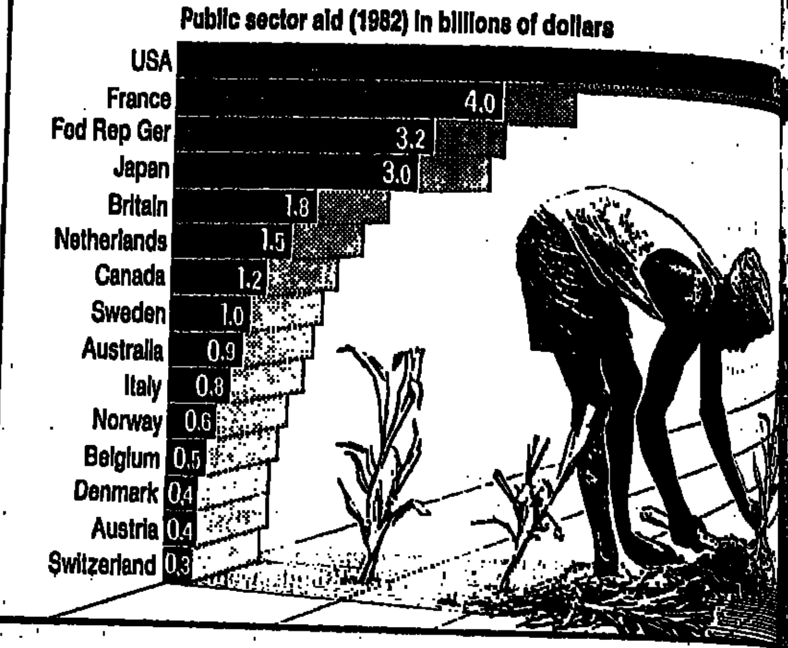
Unctad has tediously been trying to get closer to achieving these aims from one conference to the next. The conferences are held about every four years.

One reason for the failure so far is probably the division of Unctad into blocs of states.

Apart from the countries with free enterprise systems, there are the planned economy states and the Group of 77, which includes 125 developing countries

The main issues in Belgrade were the stabilisation of commodity prices and export earnings in the developing countries and growing protectionism.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 2 July 1983)



As the Economic Affairs Ministry Advisory Council puts it: "They are absolutely convinced that international organisations can come up with and administer global solutions."

But there are no such patent recipes. Difficulties in the developing countries cannot be solved globally. They must be solved country by country and step by step. Moreover, more development aid does not guarantee development

According to the Advisory Council, the effect of additional capital on development depends on framework conditions in the developing country concerned and, above all, on its economic policy.

Rarely are the Third World delegations to Unctad reminded of the fact that the basic preconditions for economic and social development must be created by the developing countries themselves. Obstacles to development must be removed for aid to become effective.

The industrial nations attending the Belgrade conference should have been more united and more unequivocal in making it clear that they are prepared to promote development processes from outside.

Of the Western nations, only the European Community was properly prepared for the Belgrade meeting.

For example the European suggestion to extend the system of stabilising commodity earnings that now applies to the signatories of the Lomé Convention to a number of other developing countries failed to meet with US and Canadian support in Belgrade.

Instead of promoting this commodity earnings stabilisation, the West reaffirmed the wrong decisions of former Unctad meetings whereby price stabilisation would be acchieved through a common fund within the framework of raw materials agreements.

The most important omission of Unctad VI was to have failed to urge more liberalisation in the trade between industrial and developing countries

Though the industrial countries undertook to stop protectionism and to systematically remove trade barriers, this is no more than a declaration of intent.

Deeds must follow within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt). The best and cheapest development aid would be to buy more Third World goods.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 July 1983)

Bonn steps [up] developme[nt] aid allocati[on]

DIE WELT

Bonn has increased the am[ount] [to] give for development aid [...] per cent. The 1984 allocation [...] draft budget figures will be DM[...] The budget itself is up by [...] over 1983, so development [...] out statistically well. The M[inister] [...]gen Warnke, says he is essenti[ally satis]fied.

The medium-term fiscal pla[n] provides for modest increas[es] [bet]ween 2.8 and three per cent [...] development aid, which is e[...] rise by between 3.3 and 3.7 per [...]

But even this fairly generous [...] cannot solve the Development [Mi]nister's problems. This is mainly [becau]se the Ministry's budget was [...] the ten per cent annual increase [...] 1970s. Now earlier commitments [...] to be met with increases of only [...] four per cent.

This has to do with a peculi[...] development budget has in c[ommon] with the transport budget: as [...] proved projects do not im[...] drain off all the money set [...] them.

Depending on progress on [...] project, actual payments ca[n] [...] over between five and ten years.

Conversely, this means that [...] Bonn government (as was the [...] the 1970s) wanted to boost its [...] ment aid by an average ten per [...] year, it would have to ensure [...] that there are sufficient feasible [...] that would provide for a me[...] use of the taxpayer's money.

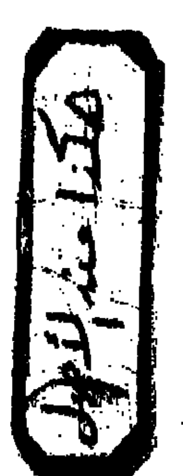
For that reason, the previous [...] ment's commitments to Third [World] countries now stand at about DM[...] still to be honoured.

As long as the cash outflow [...] pace (with a time lag) with new [...] ments there will be no difficulti[es] [...]

Warnke's problem lies in the [...] his budget was boosted by only [...] per cent and that he can therefo[re] [ho]nour previous commitments only [by de]laying their completion.

As a result, projects have to [...]

Continued on page 7



THE ECONOMY

Murmurings in the ranks over steps to get things going again

[Bus]iness circles are becoming impa[t]ient. They want the government, [whi]ch has now been in office for more [than] 100 days, to speed up measures to [...] the economy.

[Bon]n is still trying to reduce spend[ing a]nd provide tax relief for business, [but i]ndustry wants campaign promises [...] delivered.

[Au]sterity measures and growth pro[...] would only be successful if they [act]ually amounted to sweeping re[forms] favouring private incomes, warn[ed] [b]usiness representative, Otto Wolff [von] Amerongen, head of DIHT, the [Germ]an standing council of chambers [of co]mmerce and industry.

[A s]pokesman for small and medium [size]d businessmen said: "There can be [no ge]tting away from the fact that the [eupho]ria has given way to a certain dis[illus]ionment. Businessmen had diffe[rent] ideas about the vaunted change; [...] thought that the economy was [...]d for a vertical take-off."

[T]he Bonn government must take [th]e blame for these expectations. Op[timis]m was very handy as an election [...]

[D]espite this, those who listened [cou]ld have heard the warnings against [exce]ssive expectations.

"There is much to indicate that the [turning] point is still ahead of us. We don't [exp]ect any positive effects of our pro[gra]mme before the second half of [...]" said Chancellor Helmut Kohl in [his f]irst policy statement last October. [...] was when it was still easy to blame [...] problems on the previous govern[ment].

[La]ter, there was a period of growing [hope] that the economy might, after all, [reco]ver sooner. The government pinned [its h]opes on "creating more jobs [throu]gh new economic growth and on [gradu]ally solving the state's fiscal [...]", as Economic Affairs Minister [Count] Lambsdorff put it.

[Th]e state, he said, must cut spending [to r]educe the deficit to provide busi[ness] with more money for investment. [Intere]st rates must go down.

[Ps]ychological effects were taken into [acco]unt from the very beginning. "We [pinne]d our hopes on the psychological [effect] that a sound fiscal policy would [have] on investors," said Lambsdorff on [one] occasion, taking a swipe at the [...]

"[We] believe that faith in the economy [has i]mproved because you are no lon[ger the] government."

[Thi]s psychological approach was [...] needed because there was little [scope] for action in the beginning and [what] could be done did not differ very [much] from what the previous govern[ment] had done.

[Li]ke its predecessor, the new govern[ment] found that in an economic crisis [gover]nment spending for unemploy[ment,] social welfare and subsidies for [threa]tened branches of industry skyrock[ets whi]le tax revenues plummet.

[Thi]s dilemma also plagued Bonn's [1983] budget which, despite government [...], will show a deficit of DM37bn [des]pite a hefty injection from Bun[desba]nk profits. The government also [ha]d to renege on earlier promises.

[So]cial security contributions are to [rise] once more in the autumn. VAT is [to go up] from 6.5 per cent to 7 per cent and from 13 to 14 per cent) to enable the government to pay for the promised tax relief for business. Withholdings on Christmas bonuses and holiday allowances for employees will be increased from next year.

The government's intention to reduce tax for business along with reducing government debt is at the moment no more than a blueprint. But Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has guaranteed this and the public trusts him to deliver.

The government plan did not provide for setbacks and there were none originally. The general mood of business was good, planning permissions for new construction were increasing and interest rates were dropping.

Even GNP rose slightly in the first quarter of this year, at least compared with the last quarter of 1982. And in late April Stoltenberg said he could see the first encouraging signs.

But he was not to know that the upward trend was ending.

The Ifo Economic Research Institute found in its regular opinion surveys in the business community that "the improvement of the business atmosphere in evidence since last autumn is not continuing."

Production plans for the next three months show no growth impetus, the Institute says.

There are still showpiece branches of industry like the motor industry; and construction orders (construction receives massive government support) for housing showed a 14 per cent increase over the end of last year.

But even so, industry as a whole expects continued stagnation. The gains in housing construction have been lost in other branches of construction because local authorities don't have enough money.

Just about all branches of business are worried by the decline in orders from abroad. March and April showed a drop of eight per cent against the same period last year.

Though there is a clear upward trend in the United States, the economies of Germany's major trading partners in Europe are still ailing; and the Opec countries, which have always been important customers, have run out of money.

Count Lambsdorff put the business mood in a nutshell when he said: "This time, the impetus won't be coming from abroad."

Continued from page 6

tended over longer periods and there are fewer new commitments in order not to overstrain the budget.

Pledges for bilateral capital aid will decline from DM2.4bn in 1983 to DM2.25bn in 1984 and technical aid will go down from DM1bn to DM0.9bn.

Cash payments in the form of capital aid will rise slightly from DM2.67bn to DM2.73bn and in the technical aid field the rise in cash payments will be from DM894m to DM950m.

All this boils down to less financial scope for the new minister.

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, 2 July 1983)

At home, the woes of steel and shipbuilding are only part of the story.

According to the Federal Statistics Office, the tide of bankruptcies (which the conservatives while still in the opposition used as a symbol for the failure of the Schmidt-Genscher government) is unbroken. There were 5,713 from January until the end of April, 14.7 per cent more than in the same period of 1982.

Optimism over the immediate and more distant future is waning, particularly over investment at home.

According to the Bundesbank, there was a rapid outflow of capital in April (DM3.6bn of long-term and DM4.3bn of short-term money).

The balance of payments in the first quarter of this year was deep in the red. And it comes as no surprise that interest rates are rising again, largely because the Finance Ministry had to borrow massively to raise money for commitments.

There are few certainties. Economic pundits both in and outside government say that though the economic position is still worse than it was a year ago, it is better than it was at the end of last year. The Bundesbank has also been trying to dispel the increasing doubts again.

Experts are now anxiously waiting to find out whether the April decline was just a passing phenomenon. For the government, much will depend on the answer.

The Finance Minister's budgetary ideas can only work if a marked upturn sets in as early as this autumn. If not, new gaps in the budget will have to be closed. And that would mean that Stoltenberg would have to tackle the reduction of business subsidies in earnest.

The CDU and CSU election platform clearly stated that "subsidies will be reduced along with providing tax relief for business."

So far, there has been no action other than the announcement of a review of tax deductions for losses and the so-called *Bauherrenmodell* for new construction.

There is not much more scope for reducing the welfare budget because unemployment benefits and social security pensions have already been slashed under existing plans.

Bonn's finance, economic affairs and labour ministers say only higher social security contributions by employer and employee and pension cutbacks to be implemented by 1987 could save just under DM30bn.

The economising measures have not yet been completed. When they began, the Labour Minister said that "the shunting yard in social policy is being dismantled."

But before this could happen the Bonn government started shunting billions from the unemployment fund to the pensions fund and from there to the national health system.

The Labour Ministry said that these were individual measures that would eventually fit into the future overall concept.

It has meanwhile become obvious that the original good resolutions (Labour Minister Blüm: "We did not want to pursue a haphazard social policy. What we're doing is a common-sense social policy on a long term basis") could not be upheld in their original form.

World economic recovery

Growth in Western industrialised nations (%)

1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983 (Prediction)
+4.1	+3.4	+1.3	+1.2	−0.3	+1.6

Prediction 1983

Italy	France	Fed Rep Ger	Britain	USA	Japan
−0.1	0	+0.5	+1.5	+2.4	+2.8

Blüm had a tough time preventing the Chancellor and the conservatives as a whole from breaking their campaign promise that there would be no postponement in the pensions increase scheduled for 1984.

And only a short while ago — after much haggling — the government temporarily shelved plans to raise the early retirement age for women from 60 to 63.

Blüm's political destiny does not primarily depend on the revitalisaton of the pensions fund but also on the fight against unemployment.

The greater the doubts about an economic upturn, the more important it becomes to introduce additional job-creating measures.

The government, above all the labour minister, want capital participation on the part of employees to boost the liquidity of businesses. They also want legislation that would allow older workers to retire voluntarily at the age of 58.

But both measures can only be effective if they are sweepingly implemented. This would require the cooperation of the trade unions because both capital participation and early retirement would have to be paid for with reduced wage demands.

And this can only be achieved if the unions are given a say about the use of the money accumulated by capital participation and if they were given guarantees that every job vacated by an elderly worker would be filled again.

Blüm is well aware of this. He has said regarding capital participation that nothing would be done without the unions.

But other Cabinet members disagree. They do not want any additional union rights. This applies not only to Finance Minister Stoltenberg but also to Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff.

Lambsdorff, a liberal, is the actual opponent of Blüm. In fact, he is the moving spirit in the new coalition.

Anybody looking for a programme of the centre-right government only needs to refer to the so-called Lambsdorff Paper that was commissioned by Helmut Schmidt and that ushered in the end of the old coalition in September 1982.

Most of Lambsdorff's demands, which were then rejected by the CDU/CSU, have meanwhile been implemented: cutbacks in the pay for civil servants, fewer unemployment benefits for single people, reduced corporate and capital taxes; cutbacks in disability pensions and social welfare.

Lambsdorff is quite satisfied with the effects of these measures despite occasional setbacks.

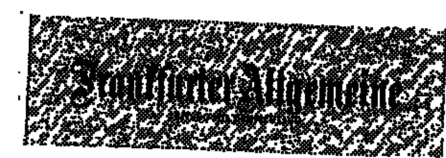
He says wryly: "If necessary, I can present another paper."

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 June 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Could the jig-saw puzzle of divided continent have been different?



What might have happened if the wartime alliance against Nazi Germany had not broken up after World War II?

Would Germany have continued to exist within its 1937 frontiers? Or would the Allies have gone ahead with plans to divide Germany into several smaller states?

What would have been the consequences if the Western powers had not started to merge their zones from summer 1946? — thereby taking the crucial step in the direction of setting up a Western Germany.

What would have happened if the Soviet Union had not used the leeway London and Washington generally allowed it in Eastern Europe to pursue strict policies designed to safeguard its sphere of influence?

What if Moscow had accepted the Marshall Plan for economic reconstruction in Europe or won the 1948 Berlin blockade?

Might a lasting division of Germany have been averted if Adenauer and the Western Allies had responded positively to Moscow's 1952 offer of reunification?

Stimulating and indispensable though questions such as these may be in sounding out different interests and leeways, research into recent history cannot be limited to speculation.

The US government opened its post-war archives to historians in the late-1960s. Brtain and France have now followed suit. So there is ample incentive for historians to delve deep into source material and find out what really happened.

The German Historical Institute, London, has hosted a gathering of British, French, Austrian, US and German historians to discuss and compare their findings on the role and importance of Germany in post-war Allied policies.

As the institute's head Wolfgang J. Mommsen, stressed, that the conference aimed mainly at clarifying the different foreign and German policy conceptsand leeways of the respective Allied powers.

Reparations

Case studies were also to be reviewed in respect of the problems encountered in feeding and maintaining supplies to the German civilian population.

Other issues for debate included the Ruhr and reparations, the working of the Allied Control Council, the 1948 Berlin crisis and Allied willingness to jointly adminster Germany.

In a third and final section of the proceedings the options open to the Germans themselves, their attitude toward the progressive division of the country and their role in the East-West conflict were discussed.

Discussion about the division of Germany was bound to give rise to the queston of who was to blame.

Who was it? The Russians, the Americans, the British, the French or the Germans themselves?

The course of the conference showed that a snap answer to this question is impossible.

Laying the blame solely at the Soviet Union's door is as inappropriate to the historical facts as are judgments that neglect to balance cause and effect and spend so much time on the post-war period that they lose sight of the Third Reich era.

This was a point clearly outlined in the opening address by Tübingen political scientist Theodor Eschenburg.

An important finding by the London conference was that the Americans, especially General Clay, were strongly in favour of restoring German unity until the beginning of 1948.

The Russians were interested in keeping German united until even later, whereas recent research into British policy, by Rolf Steininger and others, has shown that the Foreign Office seriously considered the setting up of a West Germany from the first half of 1946.

Britain seriously set about partition along these lines from that summer, whereas the French felt dividing Germany into two states without adequate economic, political and military controls went too far.

This point was put by Raimond Poidevin and Alan S. Milward, but the merger of the US and British zones into Bizonia was in effect the crucial move toward division of the country.

How did the Germans feel about it? According to Manfred Overesch the political decision-makers, such as the Prime Ministers of the *Länder*, showed few signs of fuelling discussion of the national question.

They, like the Allies, did not give priority to the restoration of national unity.

Konrad Adenauer shared tern powers' view that reuni Germany that was not firm rated in the West entailed risk given Soviet predomin rope.

When it came to discussio fects of the Korean War a armament of the Federal R was rightly asked whether th was still open to change.

Once the pro-Western ori Western Germany was large both economically and poli military option was decided of full integreaton in the West ce.

Thus the Korean War wa key event in the newly-found Republic's progress toward ful tion as a member of the West.

Even if the Soviet offer of tion made in March 1952 had riously meant it would have departure from the course sol ed in the West.

In the circumstances this w ing neither the Western A Chancellor Adenauer were p accept.

Josef Fo
(Frankfurter Allge für Deutschla

How others see the German mentality

In his memorable speech to the League of Nations on 5 September 1929 the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, solemnly called for the establishment of a United States of Europe.

Since the Second World War we have come by two Europes, the Europe of 10, or EEC, and the Europe of 21, or Council of Europe, with all manner of comittees to provide back-up.

Could they be the reason why nothing more might be heard of the idea? This gloomy forecast recurred at the latest Aspen Institute conference on Europe.

The conference, in West Berlin, was attended by experts in politics, economics and the arts from both Europe and the United States.

They agreed, on the need to maintain and extend the degree of European integration already achieved, regardless what Euro-pessimists might think.

The pessimists, it was felt, would not realise how important this modicum of uniformity had been until it no longer existed.

That is not to set aside the dream of a maximum that one would like to achieve one day.

People came to Berlin for the conference from the hard bargaining of everyday Europe in Strasbourg or Brussels and from Washington too.

They welcomed the opportunity of swapping hints on how to get on with each other and subterfuges designed to make the Europeans come to terms despite diverging interests.

The aim was not to review yet again issues disputed within the EEC but to engage in what might be termed political psychology.

The first fling of the European idea was over, it was agreed. How might the fires be rekindled? Possibly by calling historic examples to mind, suggested an Italian journalist, Signor Barzini.

Bismarck had united the German Reich by means of wars with outside powers. Could Europe possibly be galvanised into solitarity by a military threat from without?

An economic crisis was the second subterfuge of history Signor Barzini envisaged as accelerating European integration. But we are in the throes of one right now, and it seems to have the opposite effect.

Might the defence of European culture and civilisation provide sufficient momentum to speed the pace of integration?

By calling to mind our common European heritage and the many tasks it entails for the future we might well best be able to foster a European identity.

What was more, it would be based on openness rather than demarcation, especially toward eastern central Europe. But, as a leading Goethe Institute official put it:

"To build Europe is to allow entirely different cultures from our own guest status."

The Genscher-Colombo plan envisages entrusting the European Community with new powers in the cultural sector extending beyond the purview of the Treaty of Rome.

Bonn government officials with responsibility for European affairs noted in Berlin that the Genscher-Colombo plan had prompted an appraisal in non-EEC member-countries of the Council of Europe.

There had even been initial moves in the direction of a wider "cultural" Europe.

Why ought Europeans not to ride different hobby-horses in their progress toward a united Europe? Scandinavian participants at the Berlin conference promptly objected to too much regmentation.

Europe's variety and regional spontaneity were its capital. They ought to be protected from too many regulations.

But what if Europeans were tired of Europe, disappointed by the slow progress in Brussels and Strasbourg?

A French plannng official said that 80 per cent of his fellow-countrymen had said in a recent survey that they were in favour of economic protectionism.

What was worse, French would sooner invest in the U tes than in Germany, a Paris gement consultant said.

Special agreements betw dual European countries and ed States undermined Eu whole, an Italian military This was particularly true lobbying in Washington by tries concerned.

The most forthright com made, much to the Europeans by a US State Department o said that relations with the su must be the touchstone for Eu

In view of the challenge United States and the Soviet European countries could look further than their regio bles and appreciate their com rests.

They could learn to reach on, say, a common technolog instead of looking idly while th cans and the Japanese shared pean market for microelectroni

Europe must become the s history, not its object. It mu from its dependence on others outward-looking view and sponsibility.

Europe could well play a co role in Third World countries,

European participants were larly attentive as US speaker memorable point on the Americ tude toward Europe to encour peans to join forces and show self-confidence.

Europe, they were told, wou be taken seriously on the other the Atlantic once it had learnt speak with one voice.

As the process of political making was increasingly dec in the United States, with the and the West gaining increasing graphic and economic importa ropeans could no longer ex maintain their traditional dialog Americans on the eastern sea the United States.

Irmela Sp
(Der Tagesspiegel,

SPACE RESEARCH

Scientists hold breath over amazing comet discovery



erman astronomers have proved for the first time that ammonia, a combining hydrogen and nitrogen, s on another heavenly body, a t.

mmonia is considered to be the of amino acids that were later like identified in interstellar space. y are the basic components of pro and of life itself.

e discovery was made by scientists e Max Planck Institute of Radioas omy, Bonn, in mid-May.

hey were tracking the Iras Araki Al comet from the 100-metre radio cope at Effelsberg, near Bonn, as it ed within 4.7 million kilometres 37,500 miles) of the Earth.

racking the comet at a wavelength 1.3 centimetres they also identified m on the surface of the comet.

A comet has not for a long time wn so close to the Earth. On 11 May tongue-twister passed within 0.032 ronomical units of our planet.

An astronomical unit is the mean dis ce between the Earth and the Sun, or million kilometres. So the comet s in fact about 12 times further away m Earth than the Moon.

t was the first comet to be discover by a research satellite, which ac nts for the treble-barrelled name. It discovered on 25 April by the lo-American-Dutch satellite Iras, rt for infra-red astronomy satellite.

Iras has systematically probed invisi heat (infra-red radiation) in space e it was launched on 25 January is to be used to make the first map he entire sky in this radiation sector.

A few days after Iras saw the satellite panese amateur astronomer, Araki, a British amateur, Alcock, discover the comet in separate sightings.

Between them they account for most its name, to which must be added the 1983 d, meaning the fourth comet to discovered this year.

1983 d was a convenient target for the n radioastronomers because a fair ber of detailed individual reports it had been submitted to the US dquarters of the International Astro nical Union.

o its trajectory could be plotted with ir degree of accuracy before it came where near the Earth, which was sual and a stroke of good luck.

Comets usually appear unexpectedly there is not enough time to set its for radioastronomical observa n.

This one proved an extremely fast ver when viewed from our own pla It moved through the sky at a rate one and a half degrees per hour, or ghly the distance of three full moons d side by side.

o the Effelsberg radiotelescope's puter needed special adjustment to p track of the whiz-kid comet.

Previous attempts to observe comets y radiotelescope had proved mainly atisfactory. Most bids failed because mets usually steer a wide berth of the arth and their radiation is extremely ak.

To keep track of 1983 d the radiotelescope's operating schedule, which is prearranged weeks in advance, was changed at short notice.

On 11 and 12 May staff were able to observe the comet in the 1.3cm waveband at which wavelength in theory the radiation of three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule and one of the water molecule was expected to occur.

As in visible light the chemical elements advertise their presence in the radio wave spectrum by characteristic features of radiation emitted or received.

By means of the radiospectroscopically measured lines or combinations of lines astronomers can identify with a fair degree of certainty the presence of specific atoms or molecules.

The detailed structure of these lines also reveals information about physical phenomena, such as pressure or temperature, of the matter emitting or receiving radiation.

Using this method, molecular spectroscopy, radioastronomers have identified over 50 chemical compounds, often of some complexity, in the minute traces of gas between the stars.

Ammonia incidentally was the first molecule consisting of several atoms to be identified in this way: by the US Nobel laureate Charles Hard Townes in 1968.

Using molecular spectroscopic techniques the Max Planck radioastronomers aimed their instrument, the world's largest mobile radiotelescope, at Iras Araki Alcock.

Readings were hampered by cloud and rain, so the scientists checked and rechecked them, using the Max Planck computer in Bonn, before announcing details.

Their main findings are:

- Only one of the three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule was identified. It was weak but about three times the general level of atmospherics.
- The steam line was identified with the same degree of certainty.
- The radioastronomers estimate from the overall level of radiation in the 1.3cm wavelength that the comet's core must be several kilometres in diameter.

Pinpoint accuracy

They were thus able to locate it so exactly in the sky that within this degree of accuracy its position tallied with optical estimates.

The Bonn astronomers associated with the bid were Wilhelm J. Altenhoff, Wolfgang Batrla, Walter Huchtmeier, Jürgen Schmidt, Peter Stumpff and Malcolm Walmsley.

All are staff at the Max Planck Institute of Radioastronomy, and their combined comment on their findings was:

"The findings must initially be viewed with the greatest caution. Reliable conclusions cannot be reached until all other observations, made elsewhere and in other spectral sectors, have been taken into account."

Eugen Hintsches
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 July 1983)

It's been seeing things again . . . the radio-telescope near Bonn used to make the ammonia discovery (See story at left). (Photo: MPO)

Political indecision clouds the future of satellite TV

Five or six years ago when European satellite technology was still the shape of things to come there was talk of 50 to 100 TV programmes being relayed by satellite to Germany.

Believers in technological progress felt the idea spelt hope with a capital H. Pessimists were sure it would mean the eclipse of the family and danger for children.

Europe's satellite future can now be viewed much more realistically, but it is not at present an issue that is hitting the headlines.

It ought to be one now the Ariane launcher rocket has finally succeeded in putting two satellites into orbit. The transport problems of European satellites seem to have been solved.

By 1987 there will definitely be three German satellites. The first will not be strictly speaking German; it is ECS, the European Communication Satellite, the prototype of which is already in orbit.

In February 1984 the full satellite is to be launched; and Germany will be entitled to use two transponders, or channels, relayed by ECS. The transponders can be used both for telecom and TV.

It will be followed in 1985 by TV-Sat, with two TV channels and a third radio wavelength capable of relaying up to 16 digitalised programmes.

TV-Sat will be a German-made experimental satellite sent up into space without a prototype or reserve unit. For an estimated two years it will undergo trials in its pre-operational phase.

But its active life-span will be much longer. It will probably be operational until the mid-1990s. The present OTS satellite, which relays English-language programmes, looks like having a longer life-span than expected.

In 1986 or 1987 a German telecom satellite will be launched for scientific and telecommunications use with an additional facility of at least five transponders to relay TV programmes.

So by 1987 it should be possible to relay eight extra TV programmes in German, with even more satellite capacity to link Berlin with the rest of the country.

Yet although the technical developments can be realistically assessed noone can say for sure what shape the media will take.

Political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany are largely incapable of reaching a decision. To this day a decision has not been reached on how Germany's ECS channels are to be used.

For the second satellite, TV-Sat, the Prime Ministers of the *Länder*, who hold regional responsibility for broadcasting, have agreed to make no changes to the radio set-up during the trial period.

But they are reluctant to hand over the two TV channels entirely to the existing networks, ARD and ZDF.

Even so, they have yet to go further than agree in principle that third parties, meaning commercial operators, are to be allowed an opportunity of taking part with innovative programmes of their own.

Fruitless negotiations have been in progress for months to flesh out the details.

The broadcasting corporations have suggested five minutes' more TV advertising per evening to finance the new channels with even cash left over to help underwrite private operators.

The extra five minutes should gross DM400m a year, or DM300m net.

Newspaper and magazine publishers will hear nothing of this idea because

Continued on page 10

■ ENERGY

A new Jet age to harness the sun

The Jet project, short for Joint European Torus, is the world's largest experimental fusion reactor. It has started operating at Culham, near Oxford, but hopes of harnessing thermonuclear fusion to generate power will not be realised until 1988 at the earliest.

Scientists have hopes of harnessing the nuclear fusion of hydrogen, the power that fuels the Sun, to solve mankind's energy problems on a long-term basis.

Their hopes lie with the Joint European Torus (Jet), a Euratom project, Euratom consisting of nine European countries who have now been joined by Ireland, Luxembourg and Greece.

The project was launched in 1978 for an initial 12 years. Jet was originally to have cost roughly DM 500m, but estimates have since increased by several hundred million.

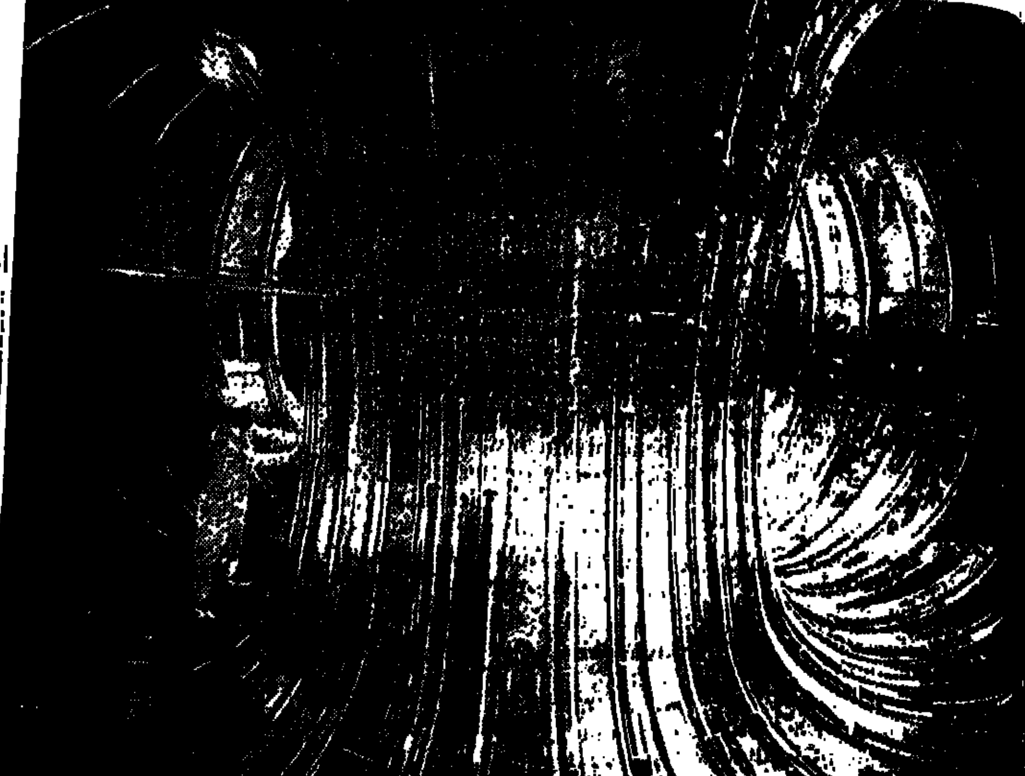
Euratom is to foot 80 per cent of the bill, Britain 10 per cent and about 20 organisations the remainder. They include the Max Planck Institute of Plasma Physics, Munich, and Jülich nuclear research establishment.

The torus is merely the ring-shaped centrepiece of the reactor, the receptacle in which hydrogen nuclei are to fuse at an extremely high temperature and electrically supercharged.

Plasma is the name given to matter in this condition, which can fairly be compared with flashes of lightning. At first glance the ring looks like a very fat tyre for a very small wheel, but in cross-section it resembles a D 4.2 metres tall and 2.5 metres wide. It weighs several hundred tonnes and is not only designed to contain the plasma, maintained in its volatile state by magnetic fields. It is also part of a gigantic electric transformer doubling as a secondary winding by which the plasma ring is heated. That is why the torus is held in place by eight iron yokes weighing 2,700 tonnes.

These yokes carry the primary windings and share with the electromagnets encompassing the walls and the overall shape of the torus the distinction of being the primary side of the system.

Nearly 40,000 and 70,000 amperes of current flow through these two electrical components. Their superimposed magnetic fields both heat the plasma and press it together so that it nowhere makes contact with the walls.



A space-age chamber of horrors? No, just the vacuum vessel of the Jet nuclear fusion reactor, the torus, where the hot gases are confined. (Photo: Jet Joint ...)

There is no way in which the walls could withstand contact with plasma at temperatures of up to 100 million degrees centigrade.

The main aim of the Jet project is to reach such high temperatures in conjunction with a sufficiently high particle density to trigger the fusion reaction.

Progress toward this objective is to be undertaken gradually, starting with attempts to heat the plasma magnetically to five million degrees centigrade.

From the middle of next year five more systems are to be used for this purpose. They will be based on two principles.

One is to increase the temperature of the plasma by bombarding it with neutral particles, the other works with the energy input of high-voltage current.

By mid-1988 project scientists hope to reach temperatures of about 50 million degrees, which in theory ... enough to trigger isolated ... monuclear reactions.

Fusion energy could heat the ... to about 100 million degrees ... tions of a second.

In a fusion reactor the fusion ... is not intended to burn ... were, but in a succession of ... flashes of energy.

Jet's magnetic systems ... supply are geared to sequence ... 30 seconds in which the ... shes are prepared and triggered.

Sequence by sequence the ... will require an input of roughly ... lion watts, or about 30 per cent ... installed capacity of Biblis ... power station, near Mannheim.

If everything runs to plan, ... and tritium atoms (heavy and ... heavy hydrogen) will be fed to the ... (and be capable of triggering ...) 1988.

But no-one knows for ... might then happen and whether ... will be any surplus energy or ... then will the scientists know ... whether the control systems are ... of keeping the first nuclear ... under control.

Since the surplus energy released ... not be spectacular, serious ... would be unlikely to happen, but ... pair bill could be very expensive ... sides, tritium is radioactive.

So many aspects of Jet are ... less new that even the experts ... doubtful whether the plans ... ahead according to timetable ... everything has gone ahead fine.

No-one in Culham is unduly ... that TFTR, the only comparable ... ject, was operational a few months ... lier in the United States.

In projects of this dimension ... months are neither here nor there.

It is also worth recalling that Jet ... tokamak-type reactor, was built ... to find out whether current ideas ... how nuclear fusion works are right.

There are no plans as yet to ... harness the process to generate ... It could be done by using the fast ... trons generated along the torus ...

But that is a task for the next generation of fusion reactors.

Dietrich Zimmer...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, ...)

Continued from page 9

they are worried about losing even more advertising revenue to TV.

So the talks have been adjourned until autumn, and no-one in politics has yet given the slightest thought to how the TV capacity of German satellites might be used.

German satellites will not be up there on their own, of course. Britain and France, Belgium and Switzerland also have been allocated channels on board ECS.

TV-Sat will be joined by a French counterpart, TDF 1, in 1985. Britain too will have satellites and has already allocated channels in the first one to the BBC, while ITV will be given channels in the second one.

Other countries, such as Scandinavia and Switzerland, will doubtless also make use of the opportunity, and since soundtracks can be broadcast simultaneously in several languages other countries are sure to relay programmes in German.

A few years ago the debate was merely theoretical. It is fast becoming reality. But in the Federal Republic of Germany politicians are still undecided on how to come terms with this imminent reality.

Franz Barsig

(Kieler Nachrichten, 5 July 1983)



THE CINEMA

Something for everyone at Munich's fun festival

... German films, East European films, women's films, children's ... off-Hollywood films, film discus... and newsreels ... you name it, the Munich Film Festival had it.

... selection was wide-ranging and ... ative though it lacked an overall ...

... than 100 films were shown over ... days, and since no prizes were ... ed, the event was not intended as ... ders' workshop but simply as fun ... public.

... fortunately, the festival fell short ... aim in most instances because ... members of the Munich jet set ... d to show off.

... films were shown to invited ... only; off-Hollywood films were ... only in English; and there were ... ough films that the man-in-the-... could easily understand and that ... entertaining as well.

... here were hardly any major films of ... rnational standard. Those that were ... uded (such as Carlos Saura's fla... co dream *Carmen*) had already ... n shown elsewhere. But even so, tick... were sold out well in advance.

Of the new German films, *Die flam... te Frau* by Robert von Ackeren and ... us Lemke's *Der Kleine*, a naively ... rated tragedy set in Munich's under... ld, received particular attention.

Many of the films dealt with the con... between the sexes — and not only ... al "women's films".

... instance: Rüdiger Nüchtern's *Bo...* ... describes the crisis triggered in a ... erly harmonious marriage by the ... 's brilliant career.

Other favourite subjects were the des... tion of the environment and the ... sibility of a nuclear holocaust.

Der letzte Kampf by the young ... ch director Luc Besson uses uncon... tional means of expresssion to desc... the consequences of a nuclear ca... trophe. But the horror vision of his ... st entirely silent black and white ... lags far behind reality.

This does not apply to Terri Nash's *... n ihr diesen Planeten liebt.* This ... dian film depicts the full extent of ... disaster. In a mere 26 minutes, the ... er of fact documentary bares the ... atomic lunacy, making facts ... k for themselves. In this Oscar-... ning film, the pain and sorrow over ... inhumanity of man become unbear...

... he most interesting productions ... wn in Munich were children's films ... those made in Eastern Europe. Un... unately, neither met with much ... lic response.

Children's and youth films are the ... children of the cinema scene. Rea... are lack of promotion, distribution ... ficulties and the fact that they are ... ely ignored by critics.

Most established film makers shun ... dren's films like the plague. They ... ently feel that such films will add ... to their reputations.

As a result, most children's films are ... de by novice directors. Yet they have ... surprisingly high standard and put ... any an "adult" film into the shade.

Der steinerne Fluss, director Thors... Näter's first film, is a committed ... nd carefully presented piece of work. ... he film tells the story of two children ... who discover a man living in a forest near Berlin. The man has fled from the city and is now to be made homeless again by the construction of the Berlin-Hamburg autobahn.

Impressively acted by Peter Roggisch with small gestures and quiet speech, the man instils a love of nature in the children and makes them aware of the consequences of our environmental destruction.

Näter regards the children as equal partners. He does not oversimplify the environmental problem but presents it in all its complexity, making the film interesting for adults as well.

The Danish film *Gummi-Tarzan* tells the story of a small, puny boy who is constantly mocked by his classmates. His father wants him to model himself on Tarzan, whom he sees as the epitome of strength and courage.

The boy accepts this role in his dreams but realises that in real life he will always be who he is and that having a friend makes everything bearable.

The fact that East European films also had little public appeal is probably due to the fact that the difference in mentality makes them hard to understand for Germans.

This applies, for instance, to the Bulgarian satire *Letzte Wünsche*, a ribald spectacle with many metaphors and allegories directed against state authority and warmongering.

The Soviet film *Die Rückkehr der Madame Butterfly* is more readily understood. It is an aesthetic and elegiac biography of a Russian woman opera singer who gained international fame around the turn of the century, forfeiting her private life in favour of her career.

The Polish film, *Bonus für Herkunft*, is an amusing satire with a conciliatory sense of humour.

The East European films had no heavy handed ideology. But many seem naive to Western viewers, especially when describing life in the West.

But many also show an exemplary capacity for gentle humour, and the acting is superb.

The new festival head, Eberhard Hauff, has opted for a festival without cliques and prizes.

What he wants is to kindle and keep alive the interest in the cinema. He can achieve this if he eliminates the shortcomings. And there is still plenty of time to do so before the next festival.

Günter Jurczyk

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 June 1983)



Carlos Saura' flamenco dream a sellout ... Carmen. (Photo: Concorde)

Documentary cameras make exotic cultural points

The scene: a picturesque Alpine landscape with a path leading up the mountain. People walking in single file and carrying assorted objects are headed by a man in white swinging a walking stick. It looks like a group of Sunday trippers.

But it is not. The scene is part of the documentary film *To find the Baruya Story*, shown at Cologne Ethnographic Film Festival which was organised by the magazine *Zelluloid* and the *Kölner Filmhaus*.

The Alpine scene was shot in Papua New Guinea and the man heading the column is a British missionary and his Papuan bearers.

It has captured the parternalistic-authoritarian character of missionary work.

The same tradition can also apply to ethnological work today, say the Americans Jablonko and Olsson in their film about the field research of Maurice Godelier, a well-known French scholar.

While in this instance ethnological research as a side-effect of colonialism is put into question, a number of other films shown during the four-day event deal with a more sensitive approach to alien cultures.

These films accept the cultural difference by describing it. The long-term film study by the Australians Judith and David MacDougall is exemplary in this sense.

In three films (made in 1976, 1978 and 1981), they describe the Turkana, a nomadic people in north-western Kenya. There is a blend of detached observation and direct questioning.

Wedding Camels, one of the three films, depicts the "marriage policy," showing how a marriage starts by paying the dowry. After all, the father of the bride must be compensated for the loss of a daughter.

The ethnologists delve into the important social functon of the dowry and the speculation and hopes of profit the clans of both bride and groom pin on the transaction. The makers of the film did not succumb to the temptation to comment on the events shown.

But sometime such pure observation is not enough to explain the context of things.

Even so, the series is a fascinating portrait of a people with a mood similar to the ethnographic feature film *Fad Yal* by Safi Faye. It depicts events in a Senegalese village, showing segments of an ever-changing African reality.

For instance: Senegalese government official tells the elders of a village of a new law. He speaks in French. The faces of the villagers show no interest because they don't understand what is being said.

This scene demonstrates how a government policy benefits from the

Continued on page 12

Best film not good enough: prize withheld

Public sector film promotion must not be seen as crutches for the lame but as tonics for convalescents and adolescents, Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann said at a ceremony in West Berlin marking the German Film Prize awards.

The 26 awards totalled DM1.5m.

The top prize, the Gold Cup, was not awarded because there was no outstanding German production.

Gold awards went to the directors Lutz Konermann *(Auf der Mauer)* and Peter Lilienthal *(Dear Mr Wonderful)* plus the actors Lena Stolze, Irm Hermann, Nastassja Kinski, Susanne Lothar and Gerhard Olschewski and the cameraman Martin Schäfer and Robby Fischer.

Silver awards went to five productions: *Der Stand der Dinge* by Wim Wenders, *Heartbreakers* by Peter F. Bringmann, *Die weisse Rose* by Michael Verhoeven, *Fünf letzte Tage* by Percy Adlon and *Mit starrem Blick aufs Geld* by Helga Reidemeister.

Several short films were also awarded gold and silver.

Zimmermann used the award ceremony to air his views on future film production. He stressed that less than ten per cent of the films shown in cinemas last year were German made and that the interest in German films abroad was extremely poor.

He called for a review and adaptation to present day needs of state film promotion.

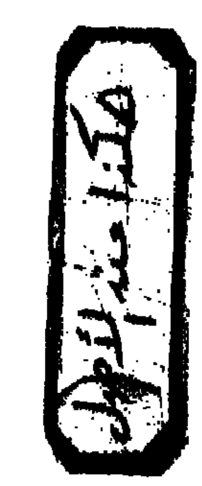
Since films should be enjoyed by everybody, he said, those with broad popular appeal should be promoted.

Like the German Film Prize, which is awarded for excellence, film promotion must also concentrate on quality.

Zimmermann rejected accusations of censorship levelled in connection with the film *Das Gespenst*, resulting in protests during the screening.

He said that it would be an imposition to use public funds to promote films that offend the religious sensitivities of large sections of the public. He added that nobody would stop those who wanted to promote such films from buying a cinema ticket.

(Die Welt, 27 June 1983)



■ LITERATURE

'A book must be an axe' –Franz Kafka

Many are the claims laid to Franz Kafka, the Prague-born Jewish writer in German who was born 100 years ago this summer.

He is claimed by Germans, Austrians and Czechs, by Christians, atheists and Jews, by ideologists in East and West and by all his countless interpreters (all of whom feel their views are strictly objective).

His literary output falls by the wayside, buried under a confusing deluge of secondary literature in slender volumes and bulky tomes.

Friedrich Beissner complained as long ago as in 1952 that "hardly anyone deals with Kafka as an artist," by which he meant Kafka the writer.

This comment is as valid today as Hermann Hesse's 1956 attack on Kafka interpreters.

"Kafka's tales are not treatises on religious, metaphysical or moral problems," Hesse wrote. "They are prose fiction.

"Kafka has nothing to say to us as a theologist or a philosopher but solely as a writer.

"It is not his fault that his superb poetic work has grown popular and is read by people untalented and unwilling to accept poetry."

To deal with Kafka's writing, the "monstrous world of the mind," is tantamount to never again parting company with a lifetime spent in writing, with the literary output that was his life.

Franz Kafka was born on 3 July 1883. His father was a Jewish fancy goods wholesaler in Prague. The house he was born in was on the border between the dilapidated ghetto and the *Altstadt*, or old city, which was a much more desirable residential area.

It was here that he grew up and spent his adult life. He went to junior school, a German boys' school on Fleischmarkt, from 1889 to 1893.

Then he went to the German *Gymnasium*, or senior school, on the top floor of the Kinsky Palace on the Altstädter Ring from 1893 to 1901.

From there he went to the German university in Prague, taking a degree in law in 1906. A few streets away he took up his first job, from October 1907 to July 1908, with an insurance company.

He then became a civil servant and worked near Josefsplatz for the Workmen's Accident Insurance Corporation for the Kingdom of Bohemia.

He stayed with them until he was pensioned off in 1922, by which time he had risen to *Obersekretär*, or head of department.

Within an area of a few square miles his father Hermann, a keen businessman, tried his hand at social climbing and his sisters Elli, Valli and Ottla were married.

It was here that his friends Paul Kisch, Oskar Pollak, Max Brod, Felix Weltsch and blind Oskar Baum lived.

Kafka went for long walks round the ghetto and the Altstadt, regularly crossing the Moldau by the Karlsbrücke to walk round the Kleinseite, to the castle that was (and still is) the seat of government, to the Chotekpark and the Laurenziberg.

Prague was for Kafka both fertile soil and a quagmire. It stood for loneliness and crowds, for bars and coffee houses, for the quiet of night and the noise of the day. It was both familiar and alien at the same time.

It was part of the real outside world that Kafka both strove for and sought refuge from.

He travelled all round Bohemia, visited the North Sea and the Baltic, was in Dresden, Munich, Leipzig, Italy, Hungary and Switzerland, Vienna, Paris and, in particular, Berlin.

But Prague never lost its spell. It was, he wrote, a little old lady with claws. While sounding a note of regret he was far from dissatisfied.

His biographers have thus embarked on a quest for Kafka's Prague, for his castle (the one referred to in his novel The Castle).

They have identified it as this palace or that street corner or Friedland Castle in northern Bohemia.

Feeling they have found the key to his literary output they have continued to this day to equate factors that are simply not identical.

The scenes and characters in his stories and unfinished novels belong to Franz Kafka's other world, his "dreamlike inner life" that gained an independent existence in the nights he spent writing.

For this inner world the real outside world cannot be more than a foil, a backdrop at most.

Reality only attains any importance when it interferes with his writing, his "dreadful occupation that makes me so *unhappy when I am unable to keep it* up," either hampering it or preventing it entirely.

Nowhere can this state of affairs be traced in greater detail than in his strange inter-relationship between creative literary activity and the struggle to establish and maintain a firm relationship with a woman.

The sequence follows an unnervingly regular pattern. Once he gets to know a woman he writes scores of letters and embarks on an extremely productive literary phase that often comes to an abrupt halt after only a few months.

It does so because the emphasis has shifted and the match Kafka envisaged has imposed an increasingly heavy burden on his creativity, less externally than intellectually.

Kafka starts to break the ties but never ever clearly makes a decision. Yet he then resumes his literary work until it too comes to a halt for months on end.

The Verdict (1912) and In the Penal Colony (1914) mark his first engagement, with Felice Bauer.

In 1917, just before his second engagement, he started writing his Country Doctor tales. When he broke it off he began writing his aphorisms.

There was a similar sequence in connection with his relationship with Julie Wohryzek in 1919 and with his Czech translator, Milena Jesenska, in 1920.

The outside world, here embodied by women and elsewhere by the all-powerful father figure, makes its impact on Kafka's reality.

He reacts in the way he recorded in countless letters and diary entries by wanting to be boundlessly alone, facing no-one but himself.

"I have often thought," he writes to Felice, "the best way of life for me would be to be in the innermost room of an extensive, closed cellar with nothing but writing materials and a lamp.

"Food would be brought in to me but left as far away as possible from my own room behind the outer door of the cellar.

"The walk through the vaults in my dressing-gown to pick up my food would be my only exercise... How much I would write!

"From what depths would I be able to retrieve it! Effortlessly! Utmost concentration requires no effort..."

In enforced and self-imposed isolation an oeuvre of breathtaking density and impressiveness takes shape. With a razor-like gaze Kafka dissects life: unerringly, warts and all.

He describes anxiety and unconnectedness, self-alienation and hardship, the anonymity of the individual and his self-destruction.

He outlines the anonymity of institutions and their all-engulfing soullessness, the quest for truth and the abandonment of self, self-confirmation and untruth.

He deals with escape and marking time, arrival without ever having got anywhere, and hopelessness as the beginning of hope.

As I write these concepts down I am well aware that I am expressing myself in a cowardly manner and in the worst tradition.

It seems impossible to talk or write about Kafka without revealing much, maybe all too much about oneself, one's way of dealing with and subjective experience of his work, one's own crying anxiety and helplessness.

It seems a case of the often despairing quest for sense in the apparently meaningless, of reading constantly recommenced and to be begun, and not ending for a lifetime.

With very few exceptions reviewers and critics have steered clear of this by reverting to the arbitrariness of grand concepts and definitions.

When Kafka died on 3 June 1924, a month before his 41st birthday, of tuberculosis at a sanatorium in Kierling, near Klosterneuburg, virtually only insiders, friends and men of letters had heard of the six slim volumes of his work published during his lifetime.

Franz Kafka ... Prague never lost its spell.

They were Observation (1913), Metamorphosis (1915), The [Judgement] (1916), In the Penal Colony (19[19]), Country Doctor (1919) and A [Hunger Artist] (1924); the last is printed here as "nal Starver (1925)".

His major unfinished no[vels] ... Trial, The Castle and Ame[rica] ... edited by Max Brod and publi[shed post]humously in the mid-1920s.

The first collected edition of ... appeared in the 1930s.

This all changed dramatically ... the apocalypse of World [War II] ... Kafka's stories and novels ... the German-speaking world ... United States and France.

Only then did German ... critics begin to take notice of ... terpretations of the man and ... were based on biographical, ... gical, existentialist, religious, ... cal, culture-critical and Marx[ist] ... points.

"There is no writer in world ... re, from whatever century," ... wrote in 1974, "who so tempt[s] ... ters to prove to the public that ... thod and none other is right."

All the critics are agreed on ... guage and style, Prague German ... by the classics and used by Ka[fka] ... the inexorable rigour he devot[ed] ... the parable as a literary form.

His writing is pregnant with ... and as clear as a bell. Yet his ... language soon makes one ... that language alone is no[t] ... enough, only extending to the ... line of what can still be express[ed].

Kafka's language provides ... tance. It intensifies the need fo[r] ... nation and commentary.

In a letter he wrote to Oskar ... at the age of 20 Kafka set great ... literature, and despite his ... only his work measured up to it.

That too heightens the unend[ing dif]ficulties his work presents, ... heightens the endless pleasure ...

"I feel one ought only to read ... that bite and sting," Kafka wr[ote] ... the book we are reading does ... us up like a blow on the head ... ther reading it?

"To make us happy, as you ... My God, we would be happy ... no books too, and books to ... happy we could at a pinch ... selves.

"What we need are books that ... us like a disaster that hurts ... death of someone we liked be[tter than] ourselves.

"It must be as though we ... vancing into forests, away fr[om] ... human habitation, like a s[uicide. A] book must be the axe for the fr[ozen sea] inside us."

Ernst J. W...

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 2 ...)

Continued from page 11

chasm between tradition and the modern age.

Safi Faye, an African, knows what she wants to express. She concentrates on the theme and knows how to handle the tools of her trade.

This does not apply in equal measure to Diane Bonnelamé and Peter Heller's *Wie andere Neger auch*. Bonnelamé, an African ethnologist, has riveted her ethnological sights on West Germany. She depicts "cases" from Düsseldorf, Bremen, and Cologne, contrasting them with African phenomena that have been taken out of their social and historic context.

But this "alien" look at realities in the Federal Republic of Germany is only seemingly alien. It provides no deep insights but only effective contrasts. The motley, fast-moving film, forfeits the opportunity of arriving at new settings and insights.

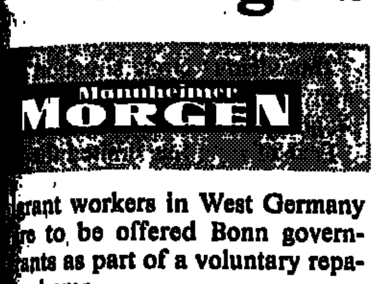
All in all, the variety of the films at the Ethnographic Film Festival familiarised the German audience with a genre that was hitherto unknown in this country.

Gerda Meuer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 June 1983)

MINORITY GROUPS

Cash for migrant workers who go back home



[Mi]grant workers in West Germany [a]re to be offered Bonn govern[ment gr]ants as part of a voluntary repa[triation] scheme.

[Gran]ts will be DM10,500 per worker [and D]M1,500 per child who goes back [with th]e family to their country of ori[gin].

[The]y will be available to migrant [work]ers who are out of work because [their] company has gone bankrupt or [their] factory has closed down.

[Th]e offer will also be available to mi[gran]t workers who have been on short [time] for at least six months.

[De]tails were announced by the Bonn [Cabi]net on 22 June and immediately [con]demned by the DGB, Germany's [Düss]eldorf-based trades union confed[erati]on.

[Th]e offer is limited to Yugoslavs, Ko[rean]s, Moroccans, Portuguese, Span[iards], Tunisians and Turks and subject [to b]oth them and their families leaving [Ger]many.

[R]epatriation grants will only be paid [for c]hildren who were living in Germa[ny b]efore 1 June 1983.

[U]nemployed migrant workers or mi[gran]t workers on short time who delay [thei]r return home will find grants cut by [DM]1,500 and DM750 respectively each [addit]ional month.

[R]epatriation volunteers will be entit[led t]o cancel building society, savings [and] life insurance agreements without [forfe]iting government bonuses or being [othe]rwise penalised.

[O]n request they will also have em[plo]yees' social security contributions [refu]nded immediately and not, as at [pres]ent, after a two-year wait.

[Th]ey (in this case mainly Portuguese [and] Turks) will likewise be entitled to a [refu]nd of pension rights they have ac[quire]d in respect of company or public [serv]ice pension schemes.

[B]onn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm [told] the press that the proposals ended [a sta]te of suspended animation that had [mad]e it extremely difficult for migrant [work]ers to decide to return home vol[unta]rily.

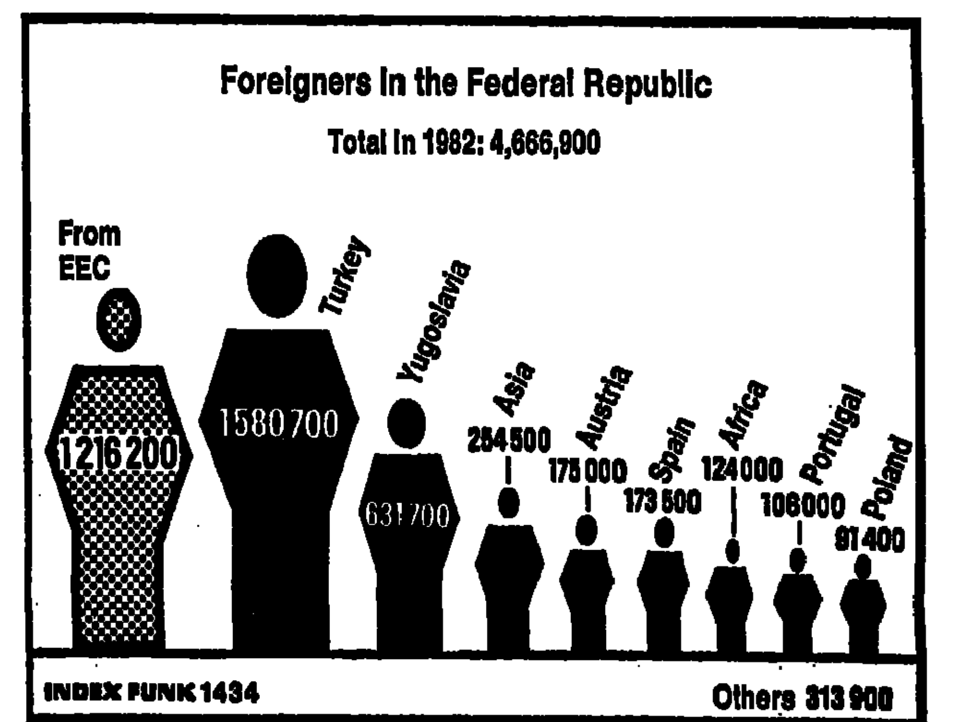
[N]atural wastage totals 30,000 a year, he said. He was expecting an extra 55,000 migrant workers to take up this latest offer this year and next.

Repatriation must be permanent. Those who take advantage of the scheme will be disqualified from ever holding permanent resident permits again.

An exception may apply to Spaniards and Portuguese if their countries join the EEC and they are then entitled, after a transitional seven years or so, to live and work anywhere in the Common Market.

Repatriation will cost the Bonn go-

Continued on page 14

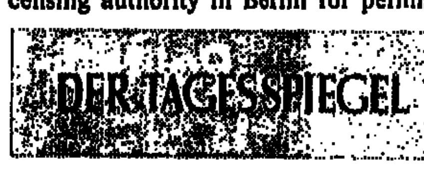


Bid to put a 'Balkan tariff' on foreigners' motor insurance

Announcing plans to penalise migrant workers by charging them higher motor insurance premiums, Hans-Jürgen Schwepke of Allianz insurance said the present system discriminated against German motorists.

The idea of what has been dubbed a Balkan tariff is nothing new. It has been going the rounds for over four years, but legal and political aspects have dissuaded motor insurers from going ahead.

Allianz are keen to clarify matters and have applied to the insurance licensing authority in Berlin for permis-



sion to introduce special rates for foreign nationals.

For years Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavs have been involved in much more expensive motor insurance claims than German policyholders.

The Motor Insurers' Association (HUK) has figures to prove that claims by Turks insured in Germany are 50 per cent higher than the average for German motorists.

The corresponding figures for Greek and Yugoslav motorists insured in Germany are 20 per cent higher than this average.

Most drive older cars in poorer condition than the average and regularly drive long distances home, having accidents en route.

People are often injured in these car crashes, and that costs insurers dearly.

Equality before the law is an accepted legal principle but has never applied in motor insurance, where third-party rates for public service employees and farmers have always been lower than those for the general public.

Rates also vary depending on whether you live in the city or the countryside, quite apart from no-claims bonuses that can cut the cost of motor insurance by up to 60 per cent.

Motorists with a bad accident record can also be penalised. They can pay up to twice the basic rate. Premiums vary from car to car, being based on horse power.

The Balkan tariff could be based on a general or individual classification, being charged at so many per cent over the basic rate or completely reassessed.

But before the Berlin watchdog authority has it say the Bonn government will doubtless be consulted.

The problem is that Bonn foresees political problems over and above general objections such as Social Democrats' disapproval of xenophobia.

One is that Bonn is bound by EEC commitments not to discriminate against Common Market nationals resident in Germany.

This commitment may afford relief to Greek motorists, but "overriding political considerations" apply to Turks and Yugoslavs.

Bonn is keen on repatriation of a number of migrant workers and their families and needs to maintain as cordial ties as possible with the governments in Ankara and Belgrade.

A dispute over insurance premiums could easily assume the proportion of a discrimination scandal and create a great deal of political ill-will.

German motor insurers are still determined to find out where they stand. They argue that German motorists have long had to pay premiums that were too high.

This state of affairs, they say, must be brought to an end. But how? The Berlin insurance licensing authority seems sure to consider the application for at least six months before reaching a decision.

It is legally entitled to a six-month review period and unlikely to venture an opinion before it expires.

If the application is rejected on account of objections raised by the Bonn government the insurance companies plan to appeal.

In other words, if the politicians fail to state a clear case the issue will be taken to the Federal Administrative Court.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 June 1983)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Rape: new research stands some popular views on their head

Specialists dealing with criminals and crime widely agree that rape victims contribute to the crime in some way.

A 1976 study by Hartmann/Rindfleisch says rape is always provoked by the victim — consciously or unconsciously.

They wrote that the mere sight of a female, something about her manner of movement, dress or figure, can trigger the crime. But the victim is unaware of what is happening.

An American criminologist, Amir, wrote in 1976: "In a way, the victim is always the cause of the crime."

And in 1975 a German study maintained that there was no such thing as rape and that "women in retrospect describe a neutral situation as rape."

Crime psychologist Hischer in 1970 called for a change of attitude in favour of the raper. The raper, he said, is a pitiable victim who gets caught up in the machinations of frustrated women.

Kurt Weis disagrees with his colleagues. He says that their views although widely held, are disastrous. They are the result of analysing rapers and looking at the problem from their point of view. The victims point of view was insufficiently taken into account.

Weis points out that public opinion doesn't agree with what the experts think.

Some 69.2 per cent of the people Weis interviewed in Saarbrücken think that a rapist will "try to cheapen his victim in order to justify the deed."

Kurt Weis, *Die Vergewaltigung und ihre Opfer* (Rape and its Victims), F. Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 252pp, DM45.

In May 1979, Weis and four women assistants manned a telephone at Saarbrücken University. The telephone was meant to give rape victims an opportunity anonymously to discuss their experiences.

The caller, from the city and the countryside, came from all walks of life.

Most of the victims did not report the rape to the police. They felt that this would have been pointless because of the widespread belief that a woman who fights back cannot be raped.

Kurt Weis lists a number of myths and stereotype ideas about rape. Among them: that the raper is usually either sick or a stranger to his victim; that such a thing cannot happen to a "decent woman"; that men cannot stand being slighted or rejected and that rape is their revenge.

This, the author says, explains why many rape victims develop guilt complexes although they know that they did nothing to provoke the assault.

The average time lapse between the rape and the phone call was 13 years, the shortest being one week and the longest 48 years.

Many women said that they had sufferd from the event for years and, in some cases, decades.

Said one of them: "I have become inhibited for the rest of my life." She had been raped ten years earlier when she was 42.

"When I heard about the telephone on the radio this morning, I said to myself 'maybe this is your chance to talk about it with somebody'," said a woman who had been raped 35 years earlier when she was a girl of 15.

Almost none of the women experienced the rape as a sex act. For most of them — especially the many older women — the assault was a humiliation.

Only two of the 77 callers said that they had overcome the experience relatively soon and had sufferd no lasting psychological damage.

One of them, who had been raped 40 years earlier, said: "I don't think about it anymore. I'm a grandmother now and I've forgotten about it."

But many of the callers suffer from permanent fears and depression They have withdrawn.

Twelve of the women had never discussed their experience for fear of it "becoming public knowledge."

Although the police advise women not to put up too much resistance in order not to antagonise th... make him even more viole... policemen blame women ... rape for not having put up ... fight.

Many women said that t... of the reasons why they w... port another rape to the p... said: "They used just about ... said against me."

This vicious circle situatio... apply to rape only but it is ... pronounced in this type of ...

Fear of rape has limited th... movement for all women. A... it, this also serves as an "ins... social control with which w... kept at home and under ma... tion."

Christa D...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbla...)

Go-home pa...

Continued from page ...

...vernment DM60m this ... DM220m in 1984. The long... ings in unemployment benefi... dren's allowance should total...

Social security pension f... stand to lose an immediate D... refunds but to gain between ... and DM2.5bn in pension rig... ed.

The trade unions are strictly ... to the entire idea. Siegfried ... the DGB national executive, ... sponsibilities include migran... says the government's propo... mistake and illusory as polic... foreign residents.

Em...

(Mannheimer Morge...)

...ODERN LIVING

Germans reveal what they really think about sweating over a hot lathe

...many's business community was ...aturally pleased with the Economic Affairs Minister, Count Lambs... when he said in July 1980 that ...s must work harder and more ...tly.

...t Lambsdorff's remarks, made ... trip to the Far East, were meant ...plain what Germans were not ...that the Japanese were.

...ess might have been pleased ...e root of all evil had been reco..., but workers and the unions ... equally naturally, outraged at ...landed with the blame.

...e then, the researchers have gone ...r into the subject.

...nion researcher Elisabeth Noelle-...ann, of the Allensbach market re... institute, and the Berlin econo... Burkhard Strümpel, who disagree, ...xchanged several open letters on ...e towards work.

... research has been funded by the ...wagen Foundation, carried out by ...rlin Aspen Institute and based its ...s on many opinion samplings.

...lle-Neumann says that the reason ... lopsided relationship between ...d work is attributable first and ...st to "the people who have turn...r backs on work."

...mpel pins the blame on "work ...ks humanity and meaning."

... chasm that separates the two ...es is also shown by how opinion ...s are interpreted.

... Frau Noelle-Neumann and ...pel used Allensbach polls to sup...eir findings. But each used diffe... surveys.

... the question around which the ...e revolves is essentially simple: ...ld you say that your present job ...s you fully, partly or not at all?"

...cording to Strümpel and the analy... Allensbach polls the answers in ... indicated that half of the work... were absolutely satisfied.

...1969, this figure stood as high as ... cent. This dropped to 45 per cent ...6 and to only 39 per cent in 1982.

...lle-Neumann based her findings ...ferent polls. She finds a close link ...n a general enjoyment of life and ...ess at work. She therefore posed ...estions differently and arrived at ...llowing findings:

...1973 polls, 68 per cent of workers ...aid that they were fully satisfied ... their jobs were also satisfied with ... lives in general.

...enty-one per cent said they were ... partly satisfied with their jobs. ...quent polls in 1979 and 1982 con... these findings, says Noelle-Neu...

...vertheless, she, too, finds that ...is a certain "identification crisis," ... "deterioration of the attitude to... work and a gap between reality ...deal." She says that much of this is ...o the "general tenor of the mass ... and school textbooks."

...ümpel opposes this theory, des...g it as "an unwarranted attack on ...edia and, what's more, a manifes...n of a lack of faith in the public's ...mon sense and judgment."

...cording to Strümpel, "the crisis of ...ork force is, like most other crises, ...is of the capacity to learn. The me...isms of mutual control and adapta... have broken down."

The post-war social market economy brought to the fore the virtues of industriousness, solidarity and tolerance. He describes this as "a cultural feat with which business, stockholders and old age pensioners fared well."

Today's polls show that young people are not tied so strongly to their occupation and pleace of work as they once were.

The younger generation no longer considers itself closely attached to the employer. (Strong attachment in the age group above 55: 48 per cent; among the 35 to 54-year-olds: 38 per cent; and among the younger workers: 26 per cent.) It also considers itself underpaid.

The generation gap is most pronounced on the question whether a job is worth only the work that has been contractually agreed upon or whether it deserves an extra effort and "sacrifice".

Fifty-six per cent of the 18- to 24-year-olds say that they do no more than they have to. This figure drops to 36 per cent for those over 34 and to 24 per cent for people over 55.

Sixty-three per cent of the people in the latter age group say that they consider the term "sacrifice" not exaggerated in describing their attitude towards work.

Listlessness at work is particularly widespread among blue collar workers, low-level white collar workers and civil servants. Managerial staff and high-ranking civil servants along with freelancers and other self-employed have lost none of their work drive in the past 20 years.

Noelle-Neumann's explanation is that these people do not think only of themselves. This is the reason why people who give their best at work generally feel happier.

She therefore raises the question as to what educational principles and circumstances at the place of work improve performance and hence self confidence.

In her view, there is no disputing the fact that there is a close link between self-confidence and well-being.

Recent opinion surveys show that many Germans feel that many young people founder on strict discipline.

"But it could just as well be the other way around if strict discipline is understood as education towards self-control. People can also founder on a lack of self-control."

She points to the fact that the number of respondents in American and Japanese polls who favour a strict upbringing is much greater than in Germany. Correspondingly, those countries also have a more positive attitude towards work.

Researchers now ask themselves whether our work places leave too much to be desired. Polls show that technical changes at the place of work are generally seen in a rather positive light and that most workers feel that these changes have made their work more interesting and more comfortable.

Only unskilled and semi-skilled workers frequently complain that technology has made their work more monotonous.

This has led Strümpel to conclude that more and more people regard pay as secondary compared with the other things work has to offer, such as prestige, fulfilment, social contacts, personal development, etc.

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, on the other hand, deplores the gradual dismantlement of the things that "help people to gather strength and develop their capabilities." According to her, there is a decline in rewards for excellence and sanctions for lack of it.

As proof, she lists the fact that 51 per cent of the respondents in a 1982 survey think that good workers earn no more than the rest.

"What do we expect? How angelic must people be who get no reward for an extra effort and suffer no disadvantage as a result of absenteeism?" she asks emphatically.

Lack of say at work is a further indicator of the frustration that prevails today, says Noelle-Neumann.

No matter what the occupation, polls show that there is a conspicuously close link between a subjective feeling of freedom at work and well-being.

Forty-four per cent of those who have a feeling of freedom at work feel rested and full of energy on getting up in the morning, compared with 25 per cent of those who do not have this sense of freedom.

Seventy per cent of workers with a pronounced feeling of freedom say they are completely satisfied with their jobs, as opposed to 28 per cent of those who do not feel free.

"Social policy makers must be imaginative in providing more freedom for personal decisions in all areas of life," says Noelle-Neumann.

Such a sense of freedom, she says, would also contribute to more health at work, as polls show.

More decision making scope and more part-time jobs (especially for women) rank among her top demands.

Her view of German bosses is anything but flattering. International polls conducted by the Allensbach institute shed some light on the humiliating experiences of German, Swedish, Japanese and American workers. The Germans had much more reason to complain than their opposite numbers in the other countries.

Noelle-Neumann asks: "Are German bosses that much tougher, inconsiderate and indifferent towards the feelings of thier staff? Are they that much more authoritarian?"

But she does not put all the blame on German bosses, pointing to the fact that the staff they are dealing with is by and large less interested and more comfort-oriented than their opposite numbers abroad. Moreover, she says, Germans resent authority more than the others.

Strümpel disagrees. He says that Germans today are more active, more committed in matters of civic affairs and generally more satisfied with their lives than before. Only satisfaction at work lags behind.

Strümpel agrees with Noelle-Neumann that this is largely due to a lack of say at work.

But he accuses his opponent of contradiction herself on this point, saying: "One day, you praise co-determination and the scope of decision at work and the next day, when the workers take you at your word and demand more say ('Before I act on an instruction I want to be convinced that it is right'), you shush them. The way you see it, there is not enough discipline in our culture."

He counters her praise of the "sacrifice ethics of workers who always want to give of their best regardless of the pay," saying that disability figures might be less shocking if work had been "de-mythologised earlier."

He reiterates his theory that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are the most listless while freelancers show the greatest work drive. According to him, it is not such traditional values as sense of duty, industriousness and orderliness that account for the latter's attitude but the conditions under which they work.

To substantiate his theory, Strümpel cites the fact that polls show that only four per cent of Germans believe that they can make a swift career in their jobs. In the USA, 30 per cent are convinced that they can rise rapidly.

Especially where young people are concerned, Strümpel says, this could offer an explanation for their lack of enthusiasm for work.

Strümpel also points to another aspect worth pondering: economic growth in this country has lagged behind the growth rates of other Western industrial nations since 1970.

But productivity in Germany has risen more steeply than in similar countries and the number of available jobs has diminished. The question he poses is: Is work stress the reason for the disenchantment?

In any event, Strümpel concludes that we should be grateful for the diminished work drive because this could help solve unemployment at a time when growth can no longer do this.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, 24 June 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Plenty for Kohl to talk about in Moscow apart from missiles

Chancellor Kohl felt in Moscow that his Soviet hosts were courting his favour.

The Chancellor's spokesman announced at one stage that Herr Kohl himself had appealed to his hosts with an undertone of entreaty.

The Bonn-Moscow summit this month was the first since the Christian Democrats took over from the Social Democrats in Bonn. It was also the first since Yuri Andropov took over as Kremlin leader.

In November 1982, when world leaders flew to Moscow for Mr Brezhnev's funeral, Chancellor Kohl was in Washington for talks with President Reagan.

Mr Reagan deliberately chose to miss the opportunity of a meeting with the new Soviet leader.

A Reagan-Andropov meeting has become a prestige issue. It was one of Herr Kohl's political priorities in Moscow. The Chancellor told his hosts he wanted such a meeting to take place.

He felt the Soviet leader was sympathetic toward the idea.

He was certainly convinced that the General Secretary, as he persisted in calling the Soviet head of state, was in full command of his faculties even though he might be in poor health.

"He can even laugh," Herr Kohl later told associates. There could hardly be a greater compliment Helmut Kohl could pay a left-winger, regardless of the Social Democrat or Marxist-Leninist variety.

The Chancellor's Kremlin talks, held on the eve of missile modernisation, cannot have been all entertaining on balance.

Herr Kohl and his associates set out to make sure that ties with Moscow were well able to weather a hot autumn both at home and abroad.

What he had to say was that the new US missiles would be stationed in Germany unless agreement was reached in Geneva that made them unnecessary.

But the stationing of new missiles in Germany need not and must not have a negative effect on bilateral ties.

The Chancellor particularly emphasised the billion-deutschemark loan to the GDR as a token of good will and of Bonn's urgent desire to keep up busines as usual with its treaty partners in the East come what might.



The GDR loan, a domestic coup on the part of Chancellor Kohl and the Bavarian Premier, Franz Josef Strauss, seems in this context almost to amount to compensation to the Warsaw Pact for the wrong it feels it will be done by Nato's missile modernisation.

Will business as usual be possible once the West goes ahead with stationing the new missiles? The Bonn delegation in Moscow gained the impression that the Russians were not prepared to sacrifice bilateral progress achieved in the 1960s and 1970s to the political clash over the new medium-range missiles.

The Soviet Union would continue, it had been evident in the course of the talks, to seek new opportunities of cooperation.

Not for nothing had the Russians referred more than once to the East Bloc treaties negotiated by a Social Democrat-led Bonn government in the late-1960s and early-1970s.

Helmut Kohl made similar mentions of the *Ostpolitik* treaties with Moscow, East Berlin and a number of East European countries.

At the same time his Soviet hosts made it absolutely clear that once missile modernisation had begun there could not possibly be anything resembling a state of normality in the West.

"It must clearly be realised," the Soviet Premier, Mr Tikhonov, said as the talks began, "that the stationing of new missiles in the West will inevitably lead to a serious deterioration of the situation in Europe and the entire world."

In keeping with the logic of global armament there will naturally be a Soviet response to missile modernisation. "Additional measures," the Russians call it.

Yet the Russians cannot seriously believe that such gloomy forecasts might persuade today's Nato governments to call off the missile modernisation part of the December 1979 dual-track decision.

Mention was inevitably made of the political framework conditions of ties between Bohn and Moscow. As Herr Kohl pointed out in the first round of talks, they could not be viewed in isolation from East-West ties as a whole.

The Soviet leaders reiterated an assurance they had gradually grown accustomed to making in the d... Schmidt and Willy Brandt.

They said the USSR had ... of persuading the Federal R... Germany to pull out of Nato ... ing the much-vaunted wedg... Bonn and Washington.

Not since Adenauer's ... Bonn's loyalty to Nato in g... America in particular been s... tratively emphasised by a Bo... cellor in Moscow.

It was not just that Herr Ko... made the point of several ... keen as he was to draw politi... tions between him and his pred...

He stressed that he had no ... be an interpreter, let alone a ... between Washington and Mos...

The Americans played a p... paring for the Chancellor's ... Soviet capital that in both its ... its intensity went further tha... for the foreign policy of in... states.

Foreign Minister Genscher, ... a member of the Chancellor's ... Moscow, flew specially to Bu... forehand for last-minute con... with the US Secretary of S... Shultz.

Two close associates of the ... lor's flew to Washington, retu... a cordial letter from the Presi...

The chief US delegates i... Mr Nitze, and in Madrid, Mr ... man, both came to Bonn for ... talks before the Chancellor ... Moscow.

A senior State Departme... and arms expert, Mr Hurt, w... Bonn was even given the dra... Kohl's Kremlin after-dinner ... read and comment on.

Was the visit a success aft... tensive preparations? The ... ed tendency these days to ... tious in attempting to make ... ments.

The Bonn government call... Illumsburg summit, with its ... security, a success. It later ... non-failure of the EEC's Stu... mit as a success.

Viewed in this light the Mos... could also be termed a succes... in more level-headed, politic... showed that ties between B... Moscow are heading for ... period.

Bonn government spokes... Boenisch said it was a visit ... the two leaders to get to k... other. Their relations seem ... for a buffeting and need to b... carefully.

It is not enough to reduce ... to be called German *Ostpoli*... level of a US-defined alliance ... ward Moscow.

Werner A...

(Deutsches Allgemeines ...)

Continued from page 1

ring. It holds forth the prospect of an arms race into barbarity, strictly for purposes of mutual deterrence, of course.

We risk being wiped out as a species if this deterrent fails to work, either by a miscalculation or a technical mishap.

The superpowers have an enormous responsibility for the survival of mankind, and so far they have not done it justice.

This is the intellectual and political background against which the peace movement all over the world is gaining stature and support.

It will certainly succeed in doing so if it manages to steer clear of political violence and communist manipulation.

Detente as a military means of keeping world peace is breaking down under the impact of progress in arms technology.

What is needed is a change in political thinking that does justice to the growing danger mankind faces.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 July 1983)

Optimism for Geneva despite a build-up of Soviet warheads

SS-21s, the latest medium-range Soviet missiles, have been stationed in the GDR for some time. They are the successors to the controversial SS-20 that led to Nato's missile modernisation decision.

SS-21s in the GDR were on the agenda at a mid-July session of the Federal Security Council in Bonn.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner mentioned them at a Press conference in Bonn. He said they were in the GDR and had heightened the military threat to Western Europe.

Herr Wörner added that the Soviet Union was busy constructing successors to the SS-21: the SS-22 and SS-23. The decision to develop the new models had been taken before Nato's December 1979 dual-track decision.

By the terms of this decision Nato resolved to go ahead with missile modernisation and station new US missiles in Western Europe if disarmament talks with the Soviet Union failed to achieve satisfactory results.

The latest information about continued Soviet missile build-ups made nonsense of any accusations levelled at Nato for its decision on missile modernisation, Herr Wörner said.

Yet he still hoped an interim result might at least be achieve at the Geneva talks by the superpowers. It would call for flexibility onthe part of both sides.

Herr Wörner felt it was now up to the Soviet Union to make the next move because the United States had already made one in saying it was prepared to set aside its insistence on the zero option.

Washington, he said, was definitely interested in reaching agreement in Geneva.

He energetically refuted allegations that the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles as envisaged by Nato would give the West a first-strike capacity in Europe.

This was incorrect because the range and number of missiles involved was inadequate to knock out all political and military targets and centres of decision in the Soviet Union.

The Pershing 2, he said, would not even be able to reach Moscow.

He was critical of SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, who before travelling to Moscow had again called for British and French nuclear weapons to be included in the Geneva disarmament talks.

Herr Bahr, he said, had done the Federal Republic and the West a disservice. It was all the more remarkable that the French Communist leader, M. Marchais, had opposed in Moscow the inclusion of his country's nuclear weapons in the purview of the Geneva talks.

The SPD has condemned the US Senate's approval of construction of the controversial neutron device, saying there is now a danger of a further turn of the screw in the arms race.

Karsten Voigt, leader of the SPD group in the Bundestag's foreign affairs committee, says he suspects the Bonn government might confidentially have given the United States the go-ahead to store neutron devices in Germany.

(Handelsblatt, 15 July 1983)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: ... Heinz ... Editor: Alexander Anthony. English ... sub-editor: Simon Burnett. – Distribution ... Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene ... Hamburg 76. Tel. 22 85 1. Telex. 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 14 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedr... Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by: MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New Y... 10011

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE ... published in cooperation with the editorial ... leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of ... ny. They are complete translations of the origin... no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your ... number which appears on the wrapper ... asterisks, above your address.

HOME AFFAIRS

Strauss asked to explain loan to East Berlin

...nz Josef Strauss, Prime Minister of ...aria, has been re-elected head of the ...istian Social Union. But delegates to ...party's conference in Munich made it ...r that many are not happy with him. ... majority was down to 77 per cent. In ... he won with 96.7 per cent and his ...t result until now was a meagre 86.8 ...cent in 1963 after the Spiegel Affair. ... time, the issue that appears to have ...t delegates is the DM1bn bank cre... negotiated for the German Democra... Republic and guaranteed by Bonn. ...uss, a hard liner on dealings with the ...DR, is reputed to have played a major ... in setting the deal up with the banks.

...rotest against the leadership style ... of the CSU Bavarian Prime Minis..., Franz Josef Strauss, in the form of ... resignation of a long-standing party ...mber over the issue of the DM1bn loan to East Berlin goes deeper than party officials admit.

This is shown by the way the party has stepped up efforts to depict the resignation of Bonn MP Franz Handlos as an isolated case and the lengths to which it has tried to emphasise the major role Strauss played over the loan.

This all indicates that there was a big information gap between the party leadership and the rank and file.

The confusion lies in the fact that Strauss is on record as stressing that concessions to the GDR must be made on a *quid pro quo* basis.

Now the party grassroots and the electorate need somehow to be convinced that this basic principle is still unchanged because the GDR has already done its part by improving its treatment of travellers at border checkpoints and by improved technical cooperation.

But there was also another reason why Strauss was interested in it being known that the loan to East Berlin, which was expressly approved by Bonn, was arranged by him in direct talks with top GDR representatives.

For a politician as sure of himself as Strauss it must be intolerable to think that there could be as much as a rumour that the loan was arranged by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher and that he, Strauss, was simply confronted with a fait accompli.

The extensive explanations of 11 July were intended to tell the CSU and the public that the Bavarian leader's influence in Bonn is as strong as ever.

But the Handlos affair shows that the CSU grassroots intends to judge its leader not only by his words but by his deeds as well. They want consistency.

Strauss showed some success in reconciling apparent inconsistencies just before the CSU party congress. So it is likely that he will emerge from the congress in firm control.

Even so, he has now for the first time been shown that there are limits to how far he can go.

In future, he will have to coordinate his policy better between the party rank and file, the executive committee and the CSU Bundestag group. He will also have to improve the flow of information to the grassroots.

But everybody knows that Strauss is capable of change.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 12 July 1983)



Strauss at work (Photos: dpa)

Madrid talks

Continued from page 1

...tension of confidence-building mea...res in the military sector.

The first Helsinki review conference ... Belgrade averted failure only by ...greeing to nothing more than a further ...onference in Madrid.

The Madrid conference has been a ...ccess in comparison. Given the tense ...ternational situation the compromise ...ached is the most that can be expect... at present.

Hans-Georg Glaser

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 16 July 1983)

CSU chief causes amazement over role in credit deal

The DM1bn that the Federal Republic has made available to the German Democratic Republic through bank loans guaranteed by Bonn is having its sequel in Munich.

The loan was arranged by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, with a consortium of Bavarian banks.

It has now been learned that Poland's ambassador to Bonn, Tadeus Olechowski, has visited Herr Strauss in Munich.

He is said to have offered Strauss assistance when he visits Poland shortly and to have asked whether Herr Strauss would like to talk about politics when he is there.

The involvement of Strauss in both the loan and with the ambassador has been a source of incomprehension to many people, including CSU members.

Strauss as a champion of mercantilism in relations with the East Bloc and as the spearhead of a changing CDU/CSU *Ostpolitik*: too much to believe.

One who is upset is Bonn CSU MP Franz Handlos. He has resigned from the party after 27 years.

In an effort to stop speculation, Strauss explained that his role in obtaining the loan was played out in conjunction with the Bonn government. (Strauss holds no federal post).

But the doubts remain. Did Strauss start the whole thing rolling himself because he thought it would be of benefit, and then tell Bonn?

Was Bonn then reluctant to stop the deal and risk a dispute with Strauss? or did Bonn send Strauss to arrange it?

Strauss is scheduled to visit the GDR on the way back from his scheduled visit to Poland. It now seems almost certain that he will meet the GDR leader, Erich Honecker, although the Bavarian chief still says he doesn't know anything about it.

It may be that after Strauss returned from Berlin, it will become clear what the GDR is to do in return for the loan.

This is the crux of Strauss' problem. So far he has evaded the question. But he can only retain credibility in *Ostpolitik* if he reveals reasons for what appears to be a change of principle. He has always said that nothing should be just given away to East Berlin.

He often accused the previous Social Democrat-Free Democrat government of not revealing all and using as an excuse the sensitive nature of the GDR.

Answers are all the more necessary now that another CSU MP, Eduard Lintner, hinted that East Berlin might get more loans.

In addition, it has not been explained why Bonn had to guarantee the loan if the GDR as Strauss says it did, actually put up collateral.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 13 July 1983)

Bavarian MP quits in anger at party's 'inconsistency'

...ranz Handlos, the CSU MP at the ...centre of the storm, says he resigned ...m the party because he didn't want ... be a coward.

...Handlos, 43, has been as CSU mem... since 1956 and an MP in Bonn since ...2. His majority of 73.6 per cent in ... Deggendorf constituency is the larg... majority in Bavaria.

...He has always been a staunch sup...rter of the party line, which is why ... resignation has come as such a surprise. He now describes Strauss' leader...p as a "one-man democracy."

The DM1bn loan Strauss arranged ... the German Democratic Republic ...me as a blow for him. How was he to ...plain to his constituents that they ...w had to accept what the party had ...en condemning for 13 years?

That is exactly what he asked Franz ...sef Strauss in a letter sent on 2 July. It ...egedly arrived on 6 July, by which ...e the Press had already seized hold ... the affair.

Strauss had the letter answered by an ...ide who used a surly tone. This was ... reasons why Handlos wrote a se...ond letter, this time to resign.

He sought no discussion with Strauss ...r indeed with his district party leader, ...avaria's Environment Minister Dick.

This was as improper as Strauss' reaction. Handlos justifies his action by pointing to the fact that Strauss does what he wants without consulting his colleagues.

He also points to the fact that at the height of the Bad Kreuth affair that shook both CDU and CSU Strauss had long decided to give in while his team still had to praise the wisdom of breaking away from the CDU.

And recently, when the loan to the GDR had long been agreed to, Strauss held forth to a gathering of CSU MPs at the Banz Monastery with his ideas on Africa without even mentioning the latest bit of *Deutschlandpolitik*.

The livelihood of Handlos, who wants to keep his Bundestag seat, assured. He is the publisher of two magazines, *Schöner Bayerischer Wald* and a military affairs publication. He also owns a museum of farmhouses and the village inn that goes with them.

His letter of resignation closes with the somewhat ambiguous words: "I am sure that further political developments will bring my friends and me together again."



Franz Handlos . . . highly critical.

Franz Handlos says the sentence should be read more than once. General secretary Wiesheu did exactly that and read the possibility of a new party into it.

Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 July 1983)

■ GERMANY

Government reveals its plans for a new Riot Act

The Bonn cabinet has decided to tighten the laws on demonstrations. Under new proposals, which will now go to the committee stage, people will be liable to be gaoled for a year if they take part in a demonstration that the police declare is violent.

The new Riot Act proposals, unanimously approved by the Bonn Cabinet, amount to a victory for the Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann of the CSU.

Principal opponent was the Justice Minister, Hans Engelhard of the FDP. He managed to win only minor concessions in the framing of the law.

However, it appears that the FDP has blocked a provision which would have made it an offence for demonstrators to mask their faces.

Herr Zimmermann can now say that he has done what he thinks is necessary before expected violent protests take place in the autumn over deployment of Nato missiles.

Now people who find themselves in a protest march that the police declare violent will have to disperse on police orders.

Failure will mean prosecution. Journalists and medical helpers will be exempt. People who can show that they tried to stop the violence will also be exempt from prosecution.

The "Liberal" justice minister seems to feel that he can live with this constitutionally most questionable compromise.

The National Federation of Judges, whose opinion the Kohl-Genscher government likes to use to back the need for a reform of Section 125 of the Criminal Code (disturbing the peace), now stiffly opposes the new bill.

Even before the dispute between Engelhard and Zimmermann was over, the Federation's judges and prosecutors warned against giving in to the Interior Minister's demand for a ban on concelment of the face to prevent identification and what the bill calls "carrying passive arms" (a flexible term that can include protective covering such as a crash helmet).

The Federation said that some serious thinking was necessary to determine whether Section 125 was in need of change at all.

Above all, the judges warned, we must beware of any departure from the legal principle that the onus of proof rests with the prosecution and not with the accused.

Under the new bill, demonstrators who fail to disperse when ordered to by the police would have to prove that they tried to stop the violence in order to avoid prosecution.

Zimmermann says that the accusation that he is violating the Constitution by reversing the onus of proof in favour of the prosecution is unfounded because anybody who three times ignores an order to disperse must expect to be treated by the police as a lawbreaker.

As simple as this might sound, it is nevertheless monstrous. Is it to be legal now for the state to treat all peaceful participants in a demonstration who fail to obey a dispersal order as criminals — only so that the state should be able to prosecute a few troublemakers?

And how constitutional is it to order the police to arrest whole sections of a demonstration in which there are only a few rabble rousers?

What is the "state" if not we, the people, with our constitutionally guaranteed right of assembly and demonstration?

We cannot ignore the Federal Court President, Professor Gerd Pfeiffer, who says that the new compromise on the demonstration law does not pay sufficient attention to weighing the individual's basic rights and the state's right to prosecute.

Professor Pfeiffer was absolutely right in drawing attention to this — regardless of what one thinks about his having aired his views on the subject in the news magazine *Der Spiegel* while the talks between Zimmermann and Engelhard were still in progress.

Under our present law, anybody who joins a public assembly or fails to leave it after being ordered by the police three times to do so is guilty of a misdemeanour. But what Zimmermann now wants to introduce (with the lamentable consent of the smaller coalition partner) would turn that person into a criminal.

Zimmermann must also tolerate being asked why he did not follow the suggestion of the Berlin chief of police, who proposed that criminal charges should be levvelled against people who carry arms or other dangerous objects. In the event of violence, this should also apply to those who are "passively armed" or masked and who ignore police orders to disperse.

But the present reversal of the onus of proof (which even has the blessing of FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher) is a sad example of the "coalition's unity and ability to act," so often quoted by Genscher.

It seems that the Liberals in particular thought that they were championing the views of the National Federation of Judges.

True, the Federation had suggested a tightening of the demonstration law in the autumn of 1981. But it withdrew the suggestion in late 1982, saying that there was no sound and feasible alternative to the existing law.

Zimmermann's inflexibility was also shown when he described the rejection of the bill by top police officers as "party political machinations."

Despite his membership in the SPD, the chairman of the Police Union, Schröder, is credible when he warns that the new law could lead to [illegible] of innocent people.

Here, too, Zimmermann se[illegible] determined to ignore senior [illegible] who, speaking from experien[illegible] that the existing law is perfe[illegible] cient if fully applied.

In any event, the tightening of [illegible] monstration law is no way for [illegible] to recapture lost votes in the [illegible]

Former North Rhine-Westph[illegible] terior Minister Burkhard Hir[illegible] now a member of the Bundest[illegible] tic affairs committee, threw [illegible] on the lack of consensus [illegible] coalition.

He said he was able to work [illegible] the Interior Ministry itself, but [illegible] the Ministers.

It is understandable that C[illegible] politicians now criticise Fede[illegible]

[illegible] Handelsbl[illegible]

President Pfeiffer for "having [illegible] exercise restraint."

But those conservatives wh[illegible] that Pfeiffer resign and go in[illegible] if he does not like the governm[illegible] terior and legal policy definite[illegible] far.

Pfeiffer the citizen has the [illegible] criticise a law and we believe th[illegible] fer the judge would have take[illegible] the same stand had there been [illegible] rent coalition in Bonn.

Norbert M[illegible]

(Handelsblatt, [illegible])

Proposed law not enough, says prosecutor

The Chief Federal Prosecutor, Kurt Rebmann, welcomes the government plans to tighten the demonstration law.

But he told a Press conference he also wanted to see bans on demonstrators concealing their faces and on carrying "passive arms." He has been disappointed on both counts.

Rebmann also warned people thinking of planning disruptive action against the likely deployment of missiles.

Even this sort of behaviour might, he said, somehow render someone liable for prosecution.

Prevention at all cost seems to be his theme. It did not seem to occur to him that this attitude could mean a reduction in civil liberties once taken for granted.

Even the massive criticism by his colleague, Federal Court President Gerd Pfeiffer, of the envisaged reform of the Act governing disturbance of the peace seems to have left Rebmann unaffected.

He approved of the new trend ushered in by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann whereby certain acts before an actual crime would be punishable.

Rebmann is convinced, for instance, that the only reason demonstrators hide their faces is so they can commit violence under such a cloak — at least, this was his line of argument.

The possibility that peaceful demonstrators could want to hide their faces for fear of state reprisals or difficulties at work was brushed aside as "irrational."

He thinks that even those who distribute pamphlets demanding that imprisonded members of the RAF terrorist organisation whould be all put together in the same prison are making propaganda for a terrorist organisation.

He argues that shifting these people to the same prison would improve the effficiency of the RAF operating from prison and that therefore anybody demanding this is aiding and abetting the RAF.

Once, Justice Minister Jürgen Schmude and Interior Minister Gerhart Baum had actually contemplated removing the provisions on making propaganda for a terrorist organisation from the Criminal Code. At the time, they met with the approval of top legal experts. Those days are gone.

The review of superfluous criminal laws that had hastily been introduced during the acute terrorist threat has been struck from the agenda altogether — by both government politicians and the Federal Prosecutor's Office.

Today, they applaud when more laws to protect the state are added to the already existing jungle of legislation.

Naturally, this helps the work of law enforcement agencies — especially the Federal Prosecutor's Office.

Many a peaceful demonstrator who must fear arrest if he finds himself in a demonstration turned violent and unable to leave it in time could decide not to demonstrate at all.

And many a well-meaning citizen who in no way sympathises with the RAF but, for whatever reason, demands that the jailed terrorists' lot be eased must beware of doing this publicly by distributing pamphlets because this could earn him a prison sentence.

It would be naive to expect the Federal Prosecutor of all people [illegible] a more liberal criminal code. [illegible] the Federal Prosecutor's Offi[illegible] is to urge Bonn lawmakers to [illegible] fer laws at the expense of civil [illegible]

The demand for a ban on co[illegible] the face, which is still controve[illegible] thin the coalition, falls in this c[illegible]

And the assurance that the [illegible] monstration law would not lead [illegible] arrest is flimsy. The still rem[illegible] mass arrests in Nuremberg ind[illegible] very opposite.

This line of thought puts both [illegible] deral Prosecutor and the Bonn [illegible] ment in a situation where they [illegible] lose sight of the right propor[illegible] means and ends and was alrea[illegible] cised under the previous Social [illegible] coalition in connection with the [illegible] duction of computerised searc[illegible] the fight against terrorism.

The tightening of the demon[illegible] law, the introduction of the ban [illegible] cealment of the face and simila[illegible] ures threaten to upset the propor[illegible] ty of means and ends — an issu[illegible] discussed among lawyers.

Interior Minister Zimmerman[illegible] repeatedly said that he would [illegible] talk about the vaunted "chan[illegible] would practise it.

He has already dilvered on th[illegible] mise in the field of legal affairs [illegible] feebly resisted by Justice Minister [illegible] Engelhard, who had promised to [illegible] nue his party's liberal line.

The Chief Federal Prosecutor [illegible] too willing to apply the Interior [illegible] ter's ideas in day-to-day pros[illegible] work.

The "change" in legal policy [illegible] bother Rebmann at all. On the co[illegible] His latest press conference gave th[illegible] pression that he longed for it.

Rainer K[illegible]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 J[illegible])

POLITICS

Tempers explode in council row with Hamburg Greens

[illegible]he Green Alternative List has been represented in the Hamburg council a year. The anniversary was marked [illegible] by a celebration but by a council [illegible]mpus, lost tempers and a walk out.

It was a day quite in keeping with the [illegible]od of the past 12 months.

There certainly has been trouble [illegible]ce the Social and Christian Demo[illegible]s were joined in the council by the [illegible]up led by Thea Bock, the Moorburg [illegible]cher who represents the Alternative [illegible], and Thomas Ebermann of the [illegible]ens.

It was late in the evening and the [illegible]n on the agenda was a Social Dem[illegible]atic motion to name a street or squa[illegible] in the city after Salvador Allende.

The Christian Democrats disapprov[illegible] of the idea. Their speaker Gert Boy[illegible] said President Allende had paved [illegible] way in Chile for what came after [illegible]m: total dictatorship.

There were protests from the floor as [illegible] spoke. His views upset both SPD [illegible]d GAL councillors. Ebermann was so [illegible]vid he could hardly sit still.

"He's out of his mind," he said. "It [illegible]st won't do." He went to the rostrum [illegible]d proclaimed, with the chamber in [illegible]proar, that:

"That's what the people look like [illegible]ho in a few weeks' time will be justify[illegible]ng the US invasion of Nicaragua. That's what the people look like who show understanding for the parliamen[illegible]y approval that was given to emer[illegible]ncy powers for Hitler."

Amid scenes of growing tumult the [illegible]hristian Democrats walked out in protest. "You can stay out too!" Thea [illegible]ock called out after them.

While Thomas Ebermann, who was [illegible]lled to order by the SPD Speaker, [illegible]eter Schulz, said he felt he was re[illegible]ponding entirely appropriately to the [illegible]uation, the situation took a turn for [illegible]e worse.

A number of SPD councillors were [illegible]early not on the best of terms with the [illegible]AL group. Tension mounted and ha[illegible]d was apparent.

A Social Democratic councillor who [illegible] Ebermann had insulted him shout[illegible]: "You aren't worth spitting at!" and [illegible]t's high time you lot were given the [illegible]oot!"

Another SPD man was so incensed [illegible] said: "The way you are behaving is [illegible]t the same as what you accuse the [illegible]scists of!"

The two parties eventually voted in [illegible]vour of naming a street or a square [illegible]ter the Chilean President, but rifts in [illegible]e council had been unmistakable.

There were instance of personal dis[illegible] suppressed for so long that the [illegible]cklog had been released in the form [illegible] pent-up aggression.

"The curtains were raised a little for [illegible]nce," a left-wing Social Democrat [illegible]ter commented.

Days later, reviewing what at times [illegible]ad been a nightmare scene in the [illegible]ouncil chamber, Ebermann said: "It [illegible]s terrible, a situation in which we [illegible]re unable to maintain the style on [illegible]hich we had agreed and which we de[illegible]berately try to keep up."

A year before he told the weekly *Hamburger Rundschau,* that the GAL group in the city council had decided not to go in for excitement, grand ges[illegible]ures, walk-outs or the like.

This time it had been different because the CDU had coldly and cynically implied that President Allende's policy had been bound to lead to President Pinochet's dictatorial regime.

This claim was one they had felt they must challenge openly.

From June till December last year the GAL group's support was indispensable for an SPD minority government. Then the Social Democrats regained an absolute majority.

Less has since been heard of the GAL group, although their electoral support seems to have levelled out at a steady eight per cent or so.

Life has certainly been less glamorous than it was last autumn when the SPD held lengthy talks with the GAL to see if they could agree on a modus vivendi.

The GAL views on issues ranging from nuclear power stations and port extension plans to youth unemployment were outlined in detail.

The Hamburg group made national headlines and were even given news coverage abroad. The CDU referred disparagingly to "Hamburg conditions," meaning an SPD minority relying on GAL support.

The Greens and Alternatives were all in favour of the idea. They wanted to join forces with left-wing Social Democrats and make Hamburg's SPD government toe a line that was to their liking.

But SPD burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi is no greenhorn and he eventually outmanoeuvred the Greens.

He called fresh elections in which GAL support was reaffirmed but the result, an absolute majority for the SPD, ruled out any further possibility of making the Social Democrats pursue left-wing policies.



Thea Bock (left) and Thomas Ebermann of the Greens ... Allende the catalyst for the drama. (Photos: dpa)

Life in Hamburg was back to normal. "There has been no change in the way we work," says Thea Bock. "We work just as hard as ever. But the message doesn't get across to the same extent, which is probably due in part to the media."

The GAL group is no longer in a position to force issues, not even a nuclear-free zone for which it could enlist left-wing SPD support.

If it came to a vote on this particular issue, right-wing Social Democrats would almost certainly join with the CDU in voting down the proposal.

That may well be what will happen this autumn. So far the GAL group has tabled 150-odd motions since the New Year, but only a handful have been accepted.

The emphasis is on information. "I feel, without wanting to be unduly proud," Ebermann told the *Hamburger Rundschau,* "that we are pretty good at unearthing facts. But we are often unable to make others appreciate the fact.

Local authorities are inundated with GAL parliamentary queries, and they are detailed questions on which the group has done its homework.

"In certain sectors," one SPD Senator admits, "the GAL has a grasp of the facts that the authorities have to gain after the event in order to be able to answer the questions."

No-one is likely to deny any longer that the GAL councillors know what they are talking about. They have the back-up provided by ad hoc groups of experts and civil servants.

It is an open secret that many local government departments, especially the Environmental Protection Department, are gratified at times when the GAL table a question.

It could be a query that the Social Democrats would not have allowed to get that far.

Karsten Plog

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 July 1983)

Ecologist MP hits out at his own party

Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever, leader of the Greens in the Baden-Württemberg state assembly, is not to stand for re-election next year.

His move is intended as a protest and a demonstrative gesture against the attitude taken by powerful forces within the Green, or ecological movement.

In a detailed personal statement he stressed that despite the envious and mistrustful suspicions of Greens with strong views on grass-roots democracy he was not interested in jobs, power and influence.

He was also opposed to the rotation principle by which Green MPs and assemblymen were expected to step down after two years in office and hand over to others for the second half of their parliamentary term.

A seat in parliament was only a temporary mandate, and it was given by voters rather than by the political party. Hasenclever, 37, feels such attempts to get round the Representation of the People Act are distasteful.

Pressuring MPs to accept the principle of rotation was not only legal trickery; it was also an attempt to mislead the voters.

He had no intention of doing what had been suggested and standing for re-election in Tübingen, getting as many votes as possible from bourgeois voters and then handing over to another candidate in two years' time.

Hasenclever is strongly opposed to supporters of "fundamental opposition" and bureaucratically organised grass-roots democracy among the Greens.



Accuses the Greens of legal trickery ... Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever.

Constant discussion about making office-holders answerable to the rank and file paralysed political activity on specific issues.

The emphasis was on structural issues, not on serious debates about ecological matters. It was a mistake to believe that manifestoes were more important to the public than the individuals who breathed life into them by virtue of their qualifications, credibility and moral integrity.

Any such ideas ought to be consigned once and for all to the scrap-heap of antediluvian left-wing illusions. Yet there was a tendency not to judge assemblymen in terms of the quality of the work they put in.

Hasenclever has turned down an offer to stand "without strings" for the Lörrach constituency. He does not want to leave Tübingen, his home base.

After the summer recess he will hand over as spokesman for the Greens in the state assemble to Winfried Kretschmann, from Nürtingen.

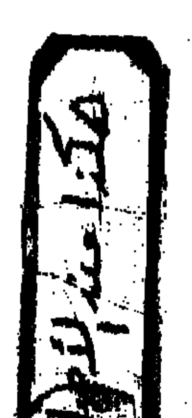
Kretschmann has been reselected without strings by his constituency party but is only prepared to stand if the state executive committee, meeting in Sigmaringen, rejects the principle of rotation.

The Greens have been fairly successful in the Stuttgart state assembly, but their future looks in jeopardy now Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever has decided not to stand again and Winfried Kretschmann and Holger Heimann may prefer to stand down too.

Between them they held much of the credit for the Greens' success at the polls in Baden-Württemberg in 1980, which was the party's first in a large state.

Friedrich Lösch

(Mannheimer Morgen, 6 July 1983)



■ TRADE

Travels with Count Lambsdorff — diary of a globe-trotting minister

Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff does not travel abroad with order book and pencil at the ready. But his trips nevertheless do help promote business.

The main purpose of his talks with members of foreign governments and industry is to enlarge the scope for economic relations and to pave the way for German industry.

But the bargaining and signing of contracts is, as in any free enterprise system, up to the companies concerned.

Even large corporations like to see the minister concerned smoothing things out politically in the buyer country. But for small and medium sized companies such government promotion is indispensable, especially in remote markets.

Count Lambsdorff has travelled abroad regularly in the past few years, primarily to countries that have taken their first steps towards industrialisation or to places whose potential as trading partners has not yet been fully realised by German business.

Lambsdorff has paid several visits to the ASEAN countries, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore.

These countries have for years ranked among the economically most dynamic regions of the Western world.

Their geographical remoteness from Germany and to some extent the traditional fixation of German exporters on the EEC countries have made it easy for Japan to gain a foothold in the ASEAN markets.

In many instances, Count Lambsdorff's visits have made exporters aware of the potential of the region and German exports there have risen 100 per cent in the past four years.

Now, Lambsdorff is venturing even further afield to open up markets for German industry.

After visiting Japan, he will visit Australia and New Zealand, countries whose economic ties with West Germany are still in their infancy but which hold great promise.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry is convinced that there is plenty of scope for growth of both trade and investment.

The Minister was told that his talks in both these countries will be difficult. True. There are virtually no bilateral issues between either of them and Germany.

But they know that Germany is an important member of the European Community. Australia and New Zealand blame the EEC for many of their current economic problems.

Count Lambsdorff is likely to hear complaints about the Community's agricultural policy particularly in New Zealand.

Ever since Britain joined the EEC, New Zealand has been losing market shares in Europe, especially in the UK.

Because of its climate, New Zealand became one of the most important food producers in the Commonwealth. Britain's decision to join the EEC caused structural economic changes in New Zealand and forced changes in its export markets.

About 70 per cent of New Zealand's exports are still farm products, especially dairy products, mutton and wool.

It has found new markets in Asia and has been successful in developing its own industry. But its economic position has been tenuous for years.

There has been no growth since the mid-1970s, and inflation is about eight per cent and rising.

The government has seen no alternative but to freeze wages and prices and curb imports — measures Count Lambsdorff considers totally ineffectual.

He is likely to suggest that helping foreign investment would provide the impetus for growth.

The Federation of German Industry regards New Zealand as suitable for joint ventures because of its high educational standard and favourable energy position.

But it is remote. Another major obstacle is the smallness of its domestic market. The country is larger in area than the Federal Republic of Germany, but it has a population of slightly more than three million.

This would not matter if a proposed common market with Australia were set up.

With its large and valuable natural resources, Australia ranks several notches above New Zealand in foreign trade.

But there, too, Count Lambsdorff is *likely to find that* the country considers its own problems more important than Germany's desire for an easing of investment restrictions for German firms.

Australia's economy is shrinking. Unemployment has risen to more than ten per cent and inflation has reached 12 per cent.

German industry has the impression that there is considerable interest in foreign capital, technology and sophisticated know-how. This could apply to coal mining and coal processing, where German companies already have a stake.

Even given goodwill on both sides, the geographical distance remains the main obstacle to the development of economic ties.

Distance gives Japan an advantage. It has used it so intensively in some instances that German companies have won footholds because Australia wants to prevent Japanese monopolies.

But Japan's successes in the region will not dominate Count Lambsdorff's talks in Tokyo.

The main topic will once more be Tokyo's practice of obstructing the access of European exporters to Japanese market.

The EEC Commission has again complained about Japan's del[...] ties in removing trade obstacles.

This time, however, Euro[...] Japan are pulling in the same d[...] against the new US import re[...] for steel.

Another objective of Count [...] dorff's visit is to promote the G[...] Industrial Fair in Tokyo next year.

After much initial hesitatio[...] major German companies have [...] cided to venture into the lion's d[...] their products.

The main objectives are to d[...] trate that German business is [...] pay more attention to the Japanese [...] ket and that German products [...] good as the Japanese.

Frank Ek[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, [...])

Bonn-Moscow economic ties 'too important for politics to spoil'

Economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are too important for either side to allow them to be affected by political or military issues.

This is why Chancellor Kohl dealt separately with economic and political issues during his visit to the Soviet Union this month.

German-Russian trade last year amounted to DM20.8bn. The Soviets had an advantage of DM2bn. Any breakdown in this profitable trade would deprive them of foreign exchange.

Latest figures show a 38 per cent rise in German sales to the Soviet Union in the first four months of this year compared with the same period last year.

German sales rose to DM3.9bn while Russian sales fell 18 per cent because of lower prices and declining demand for natural gas, crude oil and petrochemicals.

For some German companies, especially in capital goods and steel, plus a number of small and medium sized trading firms specialised in East Bloc trade, trade with the Soviet Union has become vital.

But the Soviet Union accounts for only 2.6 per cent of Germany's total foreign trade, according to OECD statistics.

These statistics also put into perspective Moscow's claim that trade with the East is important for the West's job market.

Overall OECD exports to the Soviet Bloc (73 per cent industrial goods and 27 per cent food) amounted to $35bn in 1982 — about three per cent of total exports and much less than exports [...] Opec countries ($110bn) and th[...] World ($180bn).

The OECD Secretariat estima[...] the trade with the Soviet Bloc [...] OECD nations provides b[...] 150 000 and 200 000 jobs in the W[...]

Even in the best years of this [...] the mid-1970s) the jobs created [...] were no more than 350 000. This [...] than 0.5 per cent of the currently [...] lion jobless of the OECD nations.

Trade with the West is more [...] important to the Soviet Union, [...] depends on foreign exchange [...] from raw materials because the U[...] industrial products do not meet [...] tern standards and can therefore [...] compete.

The Soviet Union could p[...] cope with a restriction of imports [...] the West, but it made it clear again [...] ing Chancellor Kohl's visit that [...] tually profitable trade with the W[...] still part and parcel of its policy.

Despite Soviet leader Yuri An[...] pov's efforts to streamline the eco[...] and make the Soviet industry mor[...] cient through modernisation, [...] from the West remain essential b[...] the USSR has always had pro[...] putting its remarkable research [...] ses into practice.

Prime Minister Tikhonov prais[...] quality of German goods and al[...] the after-sales service of German [...] panies which carried out repairs [...] provided spares for equipment b[...] ten or 15 years earlier.

German industry service teams [...] greatly contributed towards its [...] tion in the Soviet Union. So [...] should be ample sales opportunities [...] Germany between 1985 and 1990.

Kohl and Tikhonov agreed d[...] their talks that details should be [...] out at the next meeting of the Joint [...] nomic Affairs Commission in Mo[...] in mid-November.

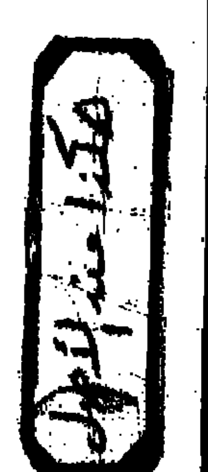
Count Lambsdorff has already [...] ed to the possible areas this wo[...] volve: food, machinery, moderni[...] of Soviet factories, transport, che[...] and agriculture.

Diplomatic circles naturally [...] that trade must not be seen outside [...] overall context of political rel[...] But trade seems to be developing [...] stabilising factor by necessitating [...] cal concessions on both sides.

The fact that Tikhonov told Kohl [...] he was worried about the likelihood [...] another Soviet trade deficit with G[...] many shows that the USSR does [...] want to curb but boost its trade by [...] ing more raw materials.

Peter Sei[...]

(Der Tagesspiegel, [...])



BUSINESS

Stock market rumours of Middle East buy-up refuted by official records

[...] market rumour has it that Middle [...] countries are secretly buying into [...] German companies. There has [...] talk of German business being sold [...] but official records of direct foreign [...] do not give backing to the rumours. This report is by H. G. Stüwe in [...] Welt.

[...]nfirmation of the stock market rumours was apparently give by the [...]st AG chairman, Rolf Sammet, at [...] company's annual meeting.

[...] told shareholders that Kuwait, [...] is a major Hoechst stockholder, [...] taken on additional holdings in [...]man industry.

[...]luded was a share of just under 10 [...]cent in Volkswagen, although so far [...]er party has confirmed it.

[...]wait is also said to have a holding [...] Commerzbank. The Hongkong and [...]ghai Bank in Hongkong was for [...] time thought to be involved in [...]merzbank, Germany's third largest. [...] is known that the Hongkong bank [...] trying to gain a foothold in Europe. [...] both banks said the rumours were [...]unded. As a result, stock market in[...]s now once more think that it is [...]wait after all.

[...]e continuous rise of Commerzbank [...] since March and the relatively [...] turnover of the stock are seen as a clear indication of heavy selective buying.

Among the other major German firms suspected of having fallen prey to Middle East buyers are Bayer, Dresdner Bank, Hoesch, Linde, Siemens, Thyssen, Degussa and Deutsche Bank.

The suspected buyer is Kuwait, which caused controversy as far back as 1974 with its DM1bn purchase from the Quandt family of a 14 per cent stake in Daimler-Benz AG.

The same year, Iran bought an equity in Krupp, which triggered a heated public discussion over an impending dependence of German industry on the Opec countries.

This led to a number of defensive measures spearheaded by major German banks.

While Kuwait's stake in Daimler-Benz was arranged by Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank reacted differently when Iran showed an interest in buying the Friedrich Flick AG's 29 per cent stake in Mercedes. Beating the Shah to it, Deutsche Bank bought the block of shares for DM2bn.

The shares were later sold to small German investors through a newly established Mercedes holding company.

Deutsche Bank also played a major role in prompting important German corporations, among them Bayer, Mannesmann and BASF, to restrict their stockholders voting rights to between five and ten per cent of the capital held by them.

Has the "sellout of German industry" (a widespread catchphrase after the first oil shock), which these measures were intended to prevent, now come about after all — not openly but clandestinely and unnoticed by the public and the companies concerned?

Official records of foreign direct investments in German companies present this picture:

Apart from its stake in Krupp-Stahl, Iran has since 1978 also had a slightly more than 25 per cent stake in the holding company Fried. Krupp GmbH, Essen. In addition, Iran has a stake in the mechanical engineering and boiler-making firm Deutsche Babcock & Wilcox AG in Oberhausen.

Saudi Arabia's Dallah Est concern has an 18 per cent stake in the world's third largest maker of construction machinery, IBH in Mainz. The equity was bought last year for DM90m.

The majority stake in another construction machinery firm, the Kaelble-Gmeinder group, Backnang, has for the past two years been held by an unidentified group of Arab investors.

Kaelble-Gmeinder, makers of special purpose vehicles, locomotives and gearboxes, have a payroll of only 1,000 and are thus the exception to the rule that says that the Arabs are only interested in mammoth corporations.

Kuwait, which concentrates on sound, internationally known German corporate giants, has been particularly single-minded in its acquisitions. Its equities include, apart from Daimler and Hoechst, the Frankfurt commodities concern Metallgesellschaft AG. Here, the government and its state-owned oil company each hold ten per cent of the DM240m corporate capital.

The sheikhdom also has a ten per cent stake in the VW subsidiary VW do Brasil.

Kuwait is unlikely to be pleased with its 30 per cent equity in the DM70m capital of Korf Stahl AG, Baden-Baden. Korf was drawn into the vortex of the steel industry's troubles and filed for insolvency proceedings last spring.

Stock market insiders estimate total Opec holdings in German companies at about DM8bn.

Overall foreign industrial holdings in Germany stood at DM74.7bn at the end of 1981.

Three-quarters of this is held by US, Swiss, Dutch and British investors. The Opec countries had a stake of only DM0.9bn in Germany's productive capital, the developing countries accounted for DM1.1bn and the East Bloc nations for just under DM500m.

Some DM4bn net a year was transferred to Germany in the last two years for the establishment of new companies, equities and loans to domestic companies.

According to Bundesbank statistics for 1982, the Opec countries accounted for only four per cent of this amount (just under DM160m).

There was not a single Middle East country among the ten most heavy direct investors in the Federal Republic of Germany. The list was headed by the USA and the EEC countries which accounted for a combined 55 per cent.

The capital flow in the opposite direction was considerably larger. It amounted to DM9.8bn, almost twice the amount of foreign investments in Germany.

So the figures don't support the theory that Middle East states are taking over.

Even if the latest equity rumours are true, and if the gaps in official statistics are closed, the ratio of foreign investments in Germany would change only marginally.

But economic data say little about the true influence certain stockholders have in a company or a branch of industry. The question is: Do Arab stockholders interfere in the management of German companies?

If company spokesmen are to be believed, there has been little change even in those companies where major foreign stockholders are represented on the supervisory board (Krupp, Babcock, Metallgesellschaft and Hoechst).

But by the same token many ambitious export plans for the Middle East, prompted by the Arab involvement, have had to be shelved.

It is generally considered that Arab investors are primarily interested in a safe financial investment and secure returns. This is substantiated by the fact that most Opec countries invest their money in fixed interest securities rather than stock and that even Iran and Kuwait acquired only minority equities.

Although far from all corporate investments in Germany earn dividends for Kuwait, that country in particular has so far fared well with its investment strategy.

As far back as two years ago, returns on capital investments replaced Kuwait's oil export earnings as the major source of revenue.

According to official data, Kuwait's foreign investments stand at DM120bn.

In the USA alone, Kuwait holds equities in 480 of America's 500 largest corporations. Most of these equities are less than five per cent — the maximum investment that does not have to be made public.

More and more Germans now believe that Kuwait is also interested in entrepreneurial benefits. Stock market insiders believe Kuwait's investment in Metallgesellschaft was made in the hope of obtaining the petrochemical know-how of that company's subsidiary, Lurgi-Ingenieurgesellschaften.

The idea, stock market pundits say, is to turn Hoechst AG — which now has an assured supply of petrochemical raw materials — "into an international chemical giant under Middle Eastern steering" (*Frankfurter Börsenbriefe*, a stock market news sheet.)

The "Kuwait fever" on German stock markets is fueled by such speculation, leading to paradoxical oddities: If the price of a stock suspected of being a Kuwait target remains stable or rises, pundits see this as a sure sign that an Arab buyer is in the offing.

But *Frankfurter Tagesdienst*, another stock market information sheet, told its readers that a stock's falling price points in the same direction: "The worse the business data of a corporation, the lower the price of its stock. And the cheaper the stock the more attractive it becomes to the Kuwaitis with their long-term investment strategy. What they are ultimately after is the know-how of these companies."

H. G. Stüwe

(Die Welt, 11 July 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

ASEAN grows up out of the dominoes that would not fall down

Ten years ago the ASEAN countries Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, were the dominoes the Pentagon thought would be the next to go if the Communists won in Indo-China.

Now the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are among the stabler countries politically and most promising countries economically in the Third World.

At the end of June Foreign Ministers from leading Western industrialised countries met their ASEAN counterparts in Bangkok.

The Western countries at this annual dialogue were the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the European Community.

The EEC was represented by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, its acting chairman.

ASEAN has emerged as a respected political force. Many economic pundits also forecast better growth prospects for the ASEAN countries in the years ahead than for any other part of the world.

Throughout the past decade of worldwide recession the ASEAN countries have maintained growth rates of which the industrialised could but dream.

They also have extensive reserves of commodities such as rubber, tin, petroleum, palm oil and timber, all of which are urgently needed in the course of an international economic recovery.

Their exports of industrial goods are on the increase too. In trade with the European Community ASEAN maintains a healthy export surplus.

Progressive industrialisation and increasing consumption in an area with a population of over 260 million are making ASEAN a market with attractive future prospects.

Its importance as an alliance has nonetheless been so far political rather than economic. Politically the five ASEAN countries are more united today than ever.

They ascribe this to the Asian art of dialogue, a complicated and protracted art in Western eyes but one that eventually arrives at consensus and agreement.

Yet it does not always do so. On specific issues of economic integration, which is an ASEAN objective, the group has made scant headway over the past 16 years, and Bangkok brought no further progress.

The conference was again overshadowed by the event that has held the centre of the stage of political debate in South-East Asia for four years: the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam.

Shock at the Vietnamese invasion was a major reason why the ASEAN countries came closer together. Their diplomacy has succeeded in ensuring that a substantial majority at the UN votes against recognising the pro-Hanoi regime in Phnom Penh.

ASEAN insists that it would be wrong to come to terms with a country invading its neighbour and establishing a puppet regime.

The ASEAN strategy is to isolate Vietnam, but political and economic pressure have so far failed to persuade Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia or to allow the Khmers freedom of choice on their future.

Peace bids have ground to a halt. During the Bangkok conference the Thai Foreign Minister abandoned as useless plans to hold talks in Hanoi.

Hanoi has made it clear that in practice it will not pull out of Cambodia until the world has come to accept the situation brought about by its invasion of the country.

There must first be international recognition of the pro-Vietnamese, pro-Soviet Heng Samrin regime.

Another condition is that China must stop backing the Khmer Rouge, who in military terms are the only opponents of the present Phnom Penh regime worthy of the name.

They remain a painful legacy of Western policy on Cambodia. The way they ran Cambodia after ousting Lon Nol in 1975 has discredited them for all time.

They introduced a Stone Age communism and killed at least one million of their fellow-countrymen. Yet they are the main partner in the anti-Vietnamese Khmer coalition, with Prince Sihanouk being no more than an internationally acceptable figurehead.

Yet the Western countries that conferred with ASEAN again practically gave the group a *carte blanche* on its Cambodia policy and an assurance of support for ASEAN initiatives.

US Secretary of State George Shultz nonetheless added that his country wanted nothing to do with the Khmer Rouge.

Australia's Labour Foreign Minister Bill Hayden was the odd man out. His government felt that the longer the Cambodia issue was stalemated and Vietnam remained isolated the more Hanoi would be driven into Moscow's arms.

That would enable the Kremlin to consolidate its position in Indo-China, he said. But Australia's intention of resuming development aid to Vietnam was strongly criticised by the ASEAN countries.

They said it was an illusion to believe that Western aid and appeasement might either separate Vietnam from the Soviet Union or weaken Hanoi's determination to rule over [...] Mr Hayden went on to [...] but although he was sho[...] praise by the Vietnamese th[...] was given were nothing new.

All the Bangkok conferen[...] to confirm that headway co[...] to be made on Cambodia. [...]scher, who was decorated by [...] for his contribution toward [...] EEC partnership, felt one co[...]tified that the Bangkok gath[...] even held.

"What would have happ[...] how many journalists would [...]ed up," he asked sceptic, "[...] had invited Warsaw Pact Fo[...]nisters to Bangkok?"

That is unlikely to hap[...] ASEAN governments are [...] anti-Communist and pro-W[...] outlook.

They are strongly critical o[...]viet Union for lending politi[...] to Hanoi's expansionist polic[...] the massive financial aid th[...] Vietnam to pursue these polic[...]

This point was plainly mad[...] Deputy Foreign Minister Ka[...] he toured the ASEAN coun[...] this year.

They took great exception [...]mand for them to negotia[...] with Hanoi and to his covert [...] connection with ASEAN [...] the anti-Vietnamese Khmer co[...]

Dietrich Mum[...]

(Der Tagesspiegel, [...])

The Inter-Parliamentary Union has been going for 94 years. It once was a distinguished organisation, but that has changed.

Tattered and torn, but IPU still has a function

Delegates from the 98 member-countries will meet for the 70th session of the Union in Seoul, Korea, in October.

Over three-quarters of the delegates will be no more than quasi-parliamentarians, and arguably mere pseudo-parliamentarians.

In their home countries MPs, representatives and assemblymen are not part of a system of checks and balances; they are trusted aides of a more or less authoritarian, not to say totalitarian government.

Their government tells them exactly what to do, and one of their jobs is to create the impression abroad that democratic, parliamentary standards are upheld.

So in a way it is right to accuse the Inter-Parliamentary Union of being a misnomer and to regard the expense of its conferences as a waste of money.

There is every good reason for taking a wry look at the people who take part in such gatherings, which are usually enjoyable meetings in far-off, interesting parts of the world.

The Union has lost much of its reputation. It is easy to criticise it.

Yet in its lamentable metamorphosis it has both lost and gained where its practical political purpose is concerned.

It forces members who are either completely in the dark about how representative, pluralistic democracy works or strongly opposed to the idea to pay it at least lip service.

At IPU conferences codes of behaviour are observed, undesirable viewpoints must be heard out and tolerated and, above all, human rights must be reaffirmed.

A bad impression is created whenever either the hosts or the participants depart from this practice.

Three years ago the powers that be in the German Democratic Republic let the side down when GDR newspapers were not allowed to mention what was discussed at the 67th IPU conference in East Berlin.

The subjects discussed and voted on included the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Every member-country, especially when it hosts an IPU gathering, belies the gap between normal parliamentary conditions and its own practices in ways such as this.

All freedoms it guarantees or refuses its citizens can in this way be measured. So the IPU promotes a process of education that is even more important today than its founders could have imagined in the 19th century.

Countries that have a lesson or two to learn are salutarily obliged to make at least a credible pretence of parliamentary style and good behaviour.

That alone is a useful effort to have to make. Efforts can be successful and even partial efforts count in the quest for virtue.

The IPU has always been weak and is now distinctly shabby, but the effect of its activities can be to give a considerable boost to parliamentary legitimacy.

Authoritarian and totalitarian states badly need more legitimacy, and they usually set great store by a gain in prestige.

That is why South Korea was so keen to host the IPU conference. Seoul wants to show its guests that complaints of breaches of human and civil rights in South Korea are no longer justified.

For a while it has certainly sought to avoid giving cause for complaint. It has also given political forces that are not in power opportunities of a say in the running of the country that gradually seems to have points in common with the parliamentary system in the West.

When the IPU confers i[...] Korean politicians who have [...] not been allowed to hold po[...] will be permitted to mix wi[...]tors.

The parliamentary group [...] is sure to meet them — by [...] with the Inter-Parliamentary [...]

That is not all the IPU ma[...]ble; it also loosens up loc[...] structures that have grown rigi[...]

Precisely because so many [...] parliamentarians who attend th[...]rences are really government [...] states that would normally ste[...]berth of each other can establ[...]cial contacts.

This is a side-effect of grea[...]tance for South Korea as an IP[...]ber and host country that o[...] maintains relations with only p[...] world.

In October representatives o[...]tries that would otherwise o[...] sporting contacts (if that) wi[...] other will be holding political [...] Seoul.

In this way change is enco[...] and it cannot be to the detri[...] peace in the world.

It all works and is relevan[...] shown by the determined effort[...] taken by North Korea, with its p[...]larly ossified totalitarian regime, [...]vent the 70the IPU conferen[...] being held in South Korea.

Pyongyang's attempts were [...]standable even though they mig[...] be approved.

The IPU may basically co[...] nothing, yet in the final analysis i[...]traordinarily effective on behal[...] code of behaviour and stand[...] keeping with the principles of p[...]tic, parliamentary, representati[...]mocratic government.

It also influence political pra[...] the sense of community and pea[...] maybe it is still worth its salt after [...]

Ernst-Otto Mae[...]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine [...] für Deutschland, 13 Ju[...])

RESEARCH

The process of dividing up the Antarctic

[...] Bonn sweltered in heat-wave temperatures of well over 30°C, diplo[...], lawyers and experts conferred in [...]ir-conditioned Science Centre on [...]al resources in the Antarctic.

[...]resentatives of 14 countries met [...]nn for a second attempt to reach [...]ment on the many unresolved [...]lems of prospecting for and mining [...]al resources and protecting the [...]ctic environment.

[...]gotiations in Wellington, New [...]and, in June 1982 and January 1983 [...]d to come up with the answers, and [...]fortnight of talks in Bonn were not [...]cted to sever the Gordian knot ei[...]

[...]wo sub-groups did, however, get [...]n to work. One is dealing with envi[...]mental issues, the other, consisting [...]nly of lawyers, with the indispens[...] definition of terminology to be [...] in the agreements envisaged.

[...]hat is basic research? At what point [...] it be classified as prospecting? [...]n must it be termed exploitation of [...]urces?

[...]eaningful work cannot begin until [...]ast the outlines of such concepts [...] agreed. But Antarctica stands for [...]h more than such laborious defini[...]

[...]t may stand for valuable natural re[...]rces to be mined from under the ice[...] *It will* certainly stand for maintaining the living resources of the marine environment.

It is also a matter of the claims made by a number of states to slices of the Antartic land-mass.

Fourteen states took part in the Bonn bid to allocate the proceeds and forestall clashes, but other members of the international community would dearly like to break their stranglehold on cash and activity.

Do they stand any meaningful or realistic chance? Let us first backtrack in history, but only as far as 1958, which was International Geophysical Year.

It was a year in which scientists devoted much attention to the Antarctic. So did politicians, and a year later the Antarctic Treaty was signed by a dozen countries.

They were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United States.

They were a mixed bag, with diverging interests, and as the treaty was open to others who engaged in serious Antarctic research they were joined over the years by another 15 countries.

They, with even more widely divergent interests, were Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the two German states, Italy, the Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Urugpay.

The Atlantic
Falkland Is.
Britain
Argentina
Argentina
Chile
Chile
Weddell-Sea
Norway
Indian Ocean
Bases of the Fed Rep Ger
The Pacific
South Pole
Australia
Ross Sea
Magnetic Pole
Australia
France
New zealand

The Antarctic
Zones claimed
Important research centres
Shelf ice
1500 km

The aim of the treaty, which Bonn signed in 1979, is to maintain the integrity of territory south of the 60th parallel.

It is to be used solely for peaceful purposes. Military activity of any kind, especially nuclear test or the dumping of radioactive waste, is prohibited.

An effective system of controls prevents breaches, including environmental pollution of the Antarctic.

The 27 differ in status as well as in interests. Seven of them, Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, Great Britain, New Zealand and Norway, lay claim to sovereignty over slices of Antarctic territory.

Article 4 of the treaty freezes the previous, unclarified situation (unclarified because claims overlap), but the countries concerned still uphold their claims.

Bonn diplomats feel the deep-freeze arrangement has proved satisfactory. During the Falklands campaign Britain steered clear of the Antarctic mainland, preferring not to "solve" an additional territorial problem by using force.

The difference in status among signatories is arguably of greater political significance. In addition to the original 12 countries Poland and the Federal Republic enjoy consultative status.

To gain this status a country has to engage in serious Antarctic research. Bonn maintains a permanent Antarctic base camp named after a German scientific pioneer in the area, Georg von Neumayer.

Germany has also contributed to Antarctic research Alfred Wegener's continental drift theory according to which the Antarctic land-mass once formed part of Africa.

On the basis of this theory the land-mass is felt to contain rich deposits of coal and iron ore, but no-one has yet proved they either exist in sufficient quantity or can be mined economically.

Over seven billion litres of petroleum are estimated to lie in wait, as are 115 billion cubic metres of natural gas and titanium, chromium, iron, copper, manganese, nickel, gold and uranium ore.

Given the uncertainties of status it is hardly surprising that treaty states have since 1959 mainly concentrated on Antarctic flora and fauna.

Initial agreements were reached in the 1960s, followed in 1980 by a treaty governing the protection of living maritime resources.

This treaty has been in force since April 1982 and, as Bonn is quick to point out, it has been signed by the European Community.

What's at stake

Representatives of 14 consultative states that are members of the Antarctic treaty have conferred in Bonn on mining natural resources from under the Antarctic ice-cap.

The land-mass, all south of the Antarctic circle, covers 21 million square kilometres, or 8.1 million square miles.

Antarctica in its entirety comprises about 53 million square kilometres, or 20.5m square miles, including:

- 38.4m sq km (14.8m sq miles) of sea,
- 1.5m sq km (580,000 sq miles) of shelf ice,
- 700,000 sq km (270,000 sq miles) of islands
- and 12.4m sq km (4.8m sq miles) of continental land-mass.

Politically, Antarctica excluding sub-Antarctic islands is divided into sectors shared by Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France and Norway.

The 1959 Antarctic Treaty carefully avoids stipulating claims to sovereignty.

Antarctic natural resources include coal, copper, iron and manganese ore. The climate is the harshest in the world, staying below zero centigrade throughout the year.

The lowest temperature ever recorded, minus 88 centigrade, was taken in Antarctica.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

Greenpeace, the militant ecological group, feel its provisions are indequate — or certainly would be if ground resources ever were exploited.

Antarctic conferences have yet to be confronted with the concept of its resources forming part of the common heritage of mankind, like those of the sea.

Bonn diplomats recall that the Malaysian government once broached the idea, but the present system is felt to have proved fine.

Consultative status will continue to be available to countries engaged in active research, which should soon mean India and Brazil as newcomers.

In other respects the modus vivendi is felt to have proved successful. The Antarctic is, after all, the world's only demilitarised and nuclear-free area.

If the number of countries associated with it were to be extended to UN proportions the East-West conflict could easily come home to roost.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

TRANSPORT AND TECHNOLOGY

Disease threat scares shipyard workers into rejecting huge refit contract

German shipyard workers have blacked a massive ship refitting contract despite the shipbuilding slump and threats of more mass redundancies.

Workers in Bremen are worried about the risk of getting asbestosis if they go through with the project.

The ship involved is the former Atlantic Blue Riband holder, the *United States* which has been out of service for 14 years. The refit order, reputed to be worth DM250m, is said to be one of the most lucrative in the history of shipping.

But the ship is full of asbestos, enough to make the risk a lethal one, says the works council at Bremen's Vulkan yard.

Shop stewards were adamant they would sooner sign on for unemployment benefit than work on board the US luxury liner.

The fitters started the action. But they were soon joined by other departments even though none of the 4,000 or so men know how long they will still be in work.

About 300 were laid off last autumn and the next wave of redundancies is expected soon. No matter how skilled they may be, shipbuilding workers in north Germany stand no chance of finding another job in the trade.

But asbestosis is incurable and in most cases death is painful.

Asbestosis is contracted by inhaling asbestos dust, and the *United States*, which was launched in America in 1952, is chock full of asbestos.

Hamburger Abendblatt called the liner an entire world of asbestos. The fibre (its Greek name means unquenchable) was sprayed on to pipes, intermediate walls and outer steel walls, just about everywhere:

"Only the Steinway grand piano, the butcher's block and the chaplain's crucifix are still made of honest-to-goodness wood on board."

Even if most of the asbestos-clad fittings were to be removed by a US firm, as has been suggested, there would still be enough asbestos left in the ship's walls and ceilings to make working on board a lethal risk, the yard's works council says.

US multi-millionaire Richard H. Hadley, a man who made his money building hotels, plans to invest roughly $100m, or DM250m, in a refit.

The *United States*, he says, is going to be what she used to be: the most luxurious liner there is, all 302 metres (990ft) of her.

The liner that once held the Blue Riband for the fastest North Atlantic crossing has been in mothballs for 14 years off Norfolk, Virginia.

So $100m may be a conservative estimate of the cost of refitting her as a playground for the rich.

The order is certainly one none of the five hard-pressed major West German shipyards could afford to ignore; it would come just in the nick of time for them all.

Early in May the Bremen yard's directors announced, much to the surprise of many, that they were definitely out of the running.

Mr Hadley had felt so uneasy at the criticism voiced by the men that he had been worried they might strike and decided to look around for another yard.

Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft (HDW) in Hamburg was an alternative. The HDW works council, unlike its opposite number in Bremen, did not rule out the idea entirely.

HDW are threatened not only with mass layoffs. The Hamburg yard may have to close down entirely.

Its works council said it would have to rule against the refit if the management failed to put all possible protective measures into practice and to reduce the health hazard to a minimum.

Burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi of Hamburg voiced great interest in landing the *United States* refit for the city.

The asbestos dispute is nothing new but but the Bremen workers' refusal to work on board what they dubbed the death ship has added a new dimension to the debate.

Workers face the unsatisfactory alternative of risking either unemployment or a lethal health hazard.

Demands for a ban on asbestos are fine as long as it is only a matter of asbestos sheeting that is sawn into shape by do-it-yourselfers or sold ready-made as window boxes.

Consumers have been able to ward off a number of risks by boycotting products. In 1981 the asbestos industry complained of its worst sales setback since the war.

People were just not buying the stuff, spokesmen for the industry lamented.

Shipbuilding workers don't have such an easy choice. They must either work with materials that contain asbestos or risk being accused of jeopardising their jobs.

Yet the Bremen workers are in no doubt. "You can't just die *a little* of asbestos," says works council chairman Fritz Bettelhäuser, who is one of many Bremen shipyard workers who may have asbestosis.

"In case of doubt all you can do is decide in favour of life and health," he feels, and most of his workmates agree that any other decision would be suicidal madness.

But it took them 10 years to come round to this view. There were cases of workmates who contracted asbestosis and died in misery.

Victims owned up to their illness and discussed their problems in public. But the Bremen yard is still an exception in this context.

Many other works councils try to ignore the problem. It is usually asking too much of them to deal with the issue, while even the trade unions are slow to wake up to the need for strategies to ensure a general ban on the use of asbestos.

Ignorance is no excuse. It certainly doesn't stop the consequences. US cancer and health research authorities estimate there will be about 2.15 million cancer deaths due to asbestos between now and the end of the century.

A spokesman for the German Environmental Protection Office in West Berlin has put the number of asbestosis deaths in the Federal Republic at 4,000 a year.

Reinhold Konstanty, of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, estimates the true figure to be at least 10,000 a year.

In the final analysis it's all speculation. Asbestosis as a cause of death can only be clearly identified by a post-mortem.

"Even if every conceivable precaution were taken (and it isn't)," the Bremen shipyard workers say, "the risk of workers who handle asbestos dying as a result cannot be ruled out."

So the choice ought not to be one between risking death or one's job but of using substitutes for asbestos that already exist "even if they are expensive."

Yet as long as this view does not prevail among the general public, and especially among the workers affected, the Bremen men realise they are going to be out there fighting on their own.

As for their Hamburg workmates' hopes of clinching the order and holding on to *their* jobs, they could be dashed for extraneous reasons.

Cash is the trouble. The king-sized order has yet to be safely underwritten. Mr Hadley says he can only raise DM80m of the cost, a B[...] shipyard manager announced [...] of April after talks in New Yo[...]

He proposed to let the ship[...] rety for the remainder. But [...] not interested, so Mr Hadley [...] to raise German Federal gov[...] *Land* (state) guarantees.

Shipyard managers sounde[...] thusiastic and more sceptical[...] men it was rumoured that [...] order could well turn out to b[...] ter for any yard that took it on.

That was probably why the [...] yard was not unduly sorry to [...] Hamburg officials are now [...] carefully to see whether the p[...] be financed at all.

A final decision is now not [...] until after the summer recess.

Volker He[...]

Deutsches Allgemeins Sonntagsbla[...]



The under-water testing plant near Hamburg. The DM40m installation can simulate a wide variety of under-water conditions to help research. (Photo: dpa)

Test chamb[...] for researc[...] under wate[...]

Operational trials have be[...] GUSI under water si[...] Geesthacht, near Hamburg[...] DM40m, took four years to b[...] one of the most advanced (o[...] its kind in the world.

Once trials are over in Nov[...] periments are to be devised [...] cooperation with industry and [...] ty research departments.

They will test technical solu[...] new technologies for use under[...]

The simulator consists of th[...] bers and a comprehensive p[...] system of gas and water supp[...] gas analysis and purification, co[...] cations and computerised surv[...]

Two more chambers can b[...] should the need arise.

The largest chamber is 3.5[...] (11ft 6in) in diameter and 11.5[...] (37ft 9in) long. It can be filled [...] in part with water or gas compo[...]

Other pressure chambers a[...] linked via a control panel. The[...] a chamber for use as living qua[...] a rescue chamber that can be [...] separated from the rest in an e[...] cy. So all divers can be safely [...] ed.

The simulator is said to enab[...] tists to reproduce in the resear[...] ratory conditions at sea and o[...] systematic research and develop[...]

Submarine work and proce[...] be tested at variable pressure a[...] ing temperatures, currents, sal[...] and water impurities.

Work such as welding, breaki[...] maintaining pipelines and steel [...] res in the off-shore sector can b[...] ed.

Divers can be put through th[...] in conditions occurring at dow[...] metres, or nearly 2,000ft, und[...] Unmanned devices can be teste[...] mulated depths of 2,200 [...] (7,218ft).

Safety concepts were difficul[...] vise because there are neither [...] nor international standards, re[...] and safety norms governing div[...] ulators.

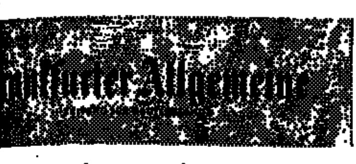
Government experts, industri[...] cialists and insurance compani[...] up special guidelines the manu[...] say set standards of their own.

They could well be adopted fo[...] deep-sea diving systems and o[...] pressure chambers.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, [...])

THE ARTS

Josef Albers comes back to Bottrop to stay



[...]useums that are devoted to individual artists and show and ad[...]ter their legacy are still a rarity in [...]ountry. In Paris and in the French [...]nces, on the other hand, there are [...]

[...]e Cote d'Azur, for instance, has [...]eums devoted to almost all major [...]ts of this century. Paris is preparing [...] of the city's most beautiful palaces [...]ouse Picasso's legacy.

[...]ermany tends to pay more attention [...] writers and musicians than to the vi[...]l arts. Even so, the German-speaking [...]ntries of Europe already have mu[...]

Albers' self portrait, 1917/18

[...]s and memorials devoted to such [...]s of the visual arts as Lenbach, [...]k, Slevogt, Kirchner, Nolde, Klee, [...]mbruck, Barlach, Kolbe and [...]cks plus such important groups as [...]cke, *Blauer Reiter* and *Bauhaus*.

[...]d for the past couple of weeks we [...]e had yet another and particularly [...]d and beautiful memorial.

[...]ottrop, a colourless mining commu[...] in North Rhine-Westphalia, has [...]ed upon the bit of good fortune [...]rded to it by history, turning it into [...]irst museum of more than local in[...]t.

[...]ottrop's bit of good fortune came its [...] in 1888 when Josef Albers, one of [...] century's most outstanding artists, [...]reticians and art teachers, was born [...]e.

[...]bers' career as an artist began ra[...]late in life but was inexorable once [...]t off the ground.

[...]fter teaching elementary school in [...] native town for some years, Albers [...]nded Stuck's art classes in Munich [...]9/20). From there, he went to the [...]mar *Bauhaus* where he made com[...]tions of coloured glass, typographi[...] designs and furniture. Rising from [...]neyman to mastercraftsman, he [...]thered all changes of style at the [...]haus, eventually becoming the head [...] the famous Preliminary Course.

[...]Albers was wise enough to leave Ger[...]y immediately after Hitler came to [...]wer in 1933, went to America and [...]s welcomed with open arms.

[...]e became one of the most important art teachers in modern America — especially in the field of design.

Loyal to and curious about the new Germany, he repeatedly visited the country after the war. On several occasions, he taught at the Ulm Design Academy on which many post-war hopes were pinned in the 1950s.

Rumour has it that Albers made several unsuccessful bids after the war to donate his works to various German museums

His actual breakthrough came in the 1960s when he was heaped with honours and titles and his works were exhibited world-wide.

On becoming an honorary citizen of his native Bottrop he presented the city with a small selection of his works.

His intention was to create centres devoted to his art in the two focal points of his life: New Haven's Yale University and Bottrop.

The idea was welcomed by Bottrop; and in 1976, the year Albers died, the city erected a new structure in its beautiful park. The structure was called *Das Quadrat* (the square) which in name and shape pays tribute to a *leitmotif* of Albers' art: the colour square.

It consists of three square pavilions linked with each other through a stair-like connection. The pavilions are intended to house a folk museum with geological finds and animal skeletons, a hall for public events and another for art exhibitions.

The architect, Bernhard Küppers, was clearly inspired by Mies van der Rohe's halls and pavilions, especially Berlin's National Gallery.

The museum is primarily devoted to the presentation and promotion of constructive art.

Albers lived long enough to advise the architect and approve the plans.

His wife Anni, also a *Bauhaus* artist, made a generous donation after his death. Together with the American Albers Foundation, she presented the city of Bottrop with about 90 paintings and almost all of Albers' graphic works (about 250 pieces).

The city then added a "Main and Mother" Square to the three pavilions, linking it with the centre pavilion through a glass corridor.

The structure deserves praise for its ingenuity of design. The two-storey concrete building has a floor area of 1,350 square metres with 200 metres of walls on which to hang pictures. The basement house the cafeteria and offices. Upstairs there is a square exhibition hall with movable partitions to permit subdivision into sections.

Josef Albers' Im Wasser, 1931

Another remarkable aspect is the price: only DM4.3m. The opening ceremony was spectacular. It was attended by many of Albers' American students, German artists and the Circle of Friends of Constructive Art.

US Vice-President George Bush and Chancellor Helmut Kohl were flown in for half an hour. It was a perfect opportunity to pay tribute to German-American traditions in the form of a 20th century phenomenon: an emigrant who came home to stay in the form of his works.

The occasion was marred by the stiff security measures to prevent demonstrators from disrupting the festivities.

The establishment of this art memorial set in an almost Japanese park was no easy but a successfully accomplished task. The squares are ever present — in the proportions of the structure, in the main hall and in the endless rows of pictures.

Ulrich Schumacher, the museum director, decided to show the work in part chronologically and in part antithetically. The upper skylight hall is devoted only to Albers' main cycle "Homage to the Square." The colour constellations unfold in a circle, going from yellow, orange and brown via grey all the way to the many shades of green.

The almost majestic sequences and harmony bear witness to the terse richness of the artist's works.

Each picture is separate, though coming alive through a variation on the same theme.

The side rooms show roads and alternatives leading to the solemn pictorial structure of the colour square.

There is the clef cycle, the facade pictures to which motion is imparted by distortions of proportions, the kinetic structures, pictures with irritating, many-faceted linear space constellations.

Expressionist portraits and landscapes take the viewer to the artist's early Bottrop era. Even here, the viewer is impressed by the cool discipline.

Albers used his many-faceted pictorial language to overcome expressionism and bring it under control.

In his 1917/18 self-portrait, he disciplines Kokoschka with the help of Dürer.

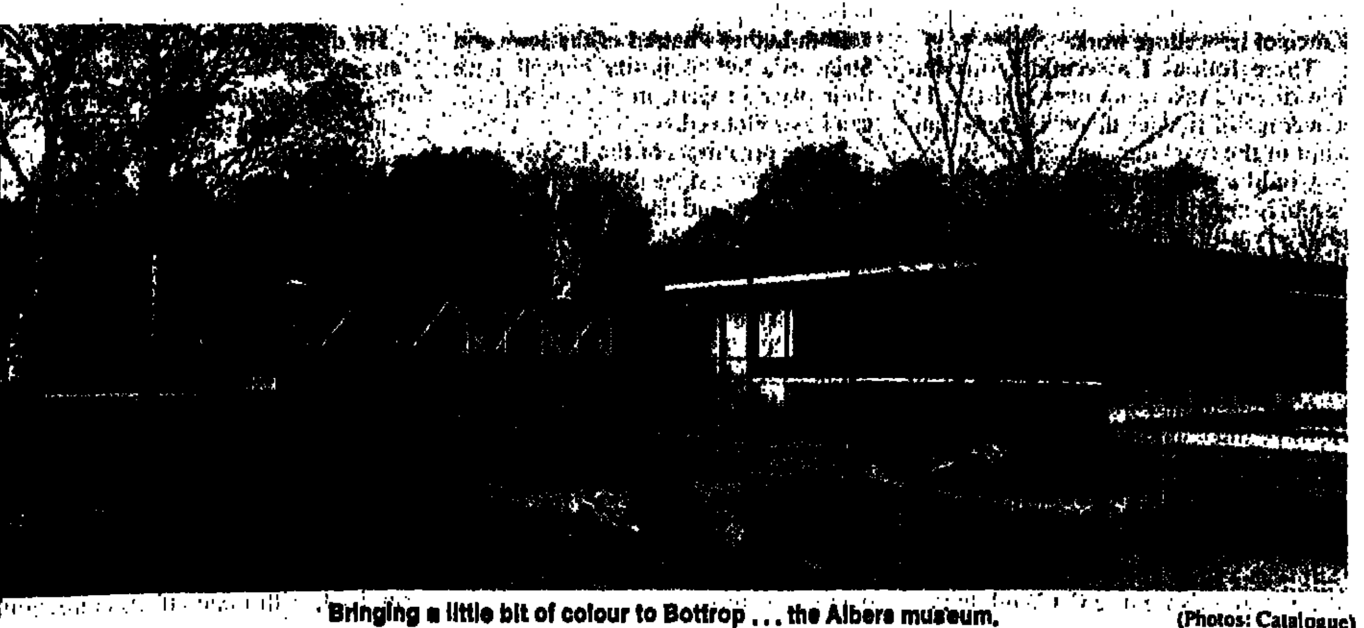
Another section is devoted to the *Bauhaus* era which was marked by many discussions with Paul Klee.

Albers is said to have developed the proportions of his nesting squares together with Klee.

The structure of the painting is put on a pedestal, so to speak, to gain depth and architectural weight, henceforth to be varied only by colour constellations.

Eduard Beaucamp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 June 1983)



Bringing a little bit of colour to Bottrop ... the Albers museum. (Photos: Catalogue)

■ LUTHER ANNIVERSARY

Ecumenical hopes at the Nuremberg Talks

Martin Luther, whose 500th birth anniversary is this year, was the subject of the 1983 Nuremberg Talks. Historians, theologians and politicians dealt with him in six seminars. There were tours of the Luther exhibition at the city's Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

This year's Nuremberg Talks left a wide range of questions unanswered. Doubts were raised, but a note of hope was also sounded.

One of the doubts was whether there was any point in holding a Luther Year and whether it was possible to strike up a living, fruitful relationship with the father of the Reformation over the centuries.

Hopes were of progress in ecumenical discussions between the Churches. They were fuelled by the convincingly expressed readiness of leading Roman Catholic participants to deal with Luther's criticism of Catholic dogma.

The third and largest platform debate was the final discussion, held in the Lorenzkirche, which on 24 June hosted the ceremony to mark the opening of the Luther exhibition in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

The 11 debaters and the chairman, Claus-Jürgen Roepke, sat at tables arranged in a semicircle in front of the altar.

The audience, sitting in the chancel and the nave, could not see them too well because of the three Bayerischer Rundfunk outside broadcast camera crews covering the debate.

Viewers watching the programme on TV may well have found it easier to follow the proceedings.

The first speaker were politicians: Social Democrat Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider, a Nuremberg man and member of the Bavarian Christian Social Union.

Herr Rau outlined Luther's motives in the simplest of terms. "The world," he said, "is in a bad way and oughtn't to stay that way."

If the Gospel was unimportant in this world and irrelevant for political activities, what good was it? If the Sermon on the Mount did not apply to the town hall, where did it apply?

This world has to do with God, he said, and God has to do with the world we live in.

Dr Schneider took a more complicated view. He praised Luther first and foremost as a pious Christian, referring to the law of God and the law of nature.

Luther, he said, had wanted neither the rule of the Church over the state nor the rule of the state over the Church.

The Church, he felt, ought mainly to concern itself with pastoral duties, although he readily admitted the importance of its welfare work.

There followed a seemingly inevitable dispute taking up over half the TV coverage of the debate on Luther's concept of the two kingdoms.

Could a politician who claimed to be a Christian lead a Christian life by Luther's yardsticks, by combining good works and the Ten Commandments?

The conclusion reached was, inevitably, that he could not.

The theologists clashed over whether Luther referred to two kingdoms or to two regimens and whether he wanted to absolve the temporal world of responsibility to God.

Heiko Oberman, the Tübingen Church historian, said he had definitely intended nothing of the kind.

It was a great pity more was not said about Luther's treatise On Worldly Authority, which marked the beginning of his two kingdoms theory.

A frequent drawback of such debates is that audiences are assumed to know more than they do about the background material.

"We must divide the children of Adam, or all mankind," Luther wrote in his 1523 treatise, "into two parts: those who belong to the kingdom of God and those who belong to the kingdom of this world.

"Those who belong to the kingdom of God are they who truly believe in Christ. Those who are not Christians belong to the kingdom of the world, or the Law.

"Few are true believers and fewer still behave in a Christian manner. That is why God has created for these non-Christians alongside Christianity and the kingdom of God another regimen that is subject to the sword."

If these and similar statements are any guide there is little point in trying to apply Luther's yardsticks of government and politics to the present day.

But are there not more direct approaches to Luther? Can "the rubble of centuries" be cleared away where he is concerned, Joachim Rogge wondered.

Herr Rogge, who is a Protestant Church official in the GDR, sounded a note of doubt.

Others' views varied. Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, the leading Free Democrat, felt the simple things, such as Luther's catechism and his songs, ought to be read more.

Dr Oberman referred to Luther as an individual caught between diabolical temptations and enjoyment of life.

Dr Pesch, the Roman Catholic theologian, said he had had "key experiences" in reading Luther's writings.

Klaus Hemmerle, the bishop of Aachen, said the Luther debate had grown "new and significant" as far as he was concerned.

But the encounter with Luther had also had painful consequences. He was unable to set aside Luther's far-reaching opposition to fundamental Catholic viewpoints.

The ecumenical debate faced a testing period. Yet the words of a Roman Catholic bishop gave rise to hopes that the Papal Church might answer Luther's criticism of its dogma.

In this respect the two Churches might be felt to have similar intentions, but hopes of Luther proving a link between the two German states can be dismissed after the Nuremberg debate.

A group headed by Heinz Zahrnt sought in vain to find points held in common, differences and contradictions in the view of Luther held in the two German states.

His anniversary is being celebrated as a major event in both, which might arguably trigger a feeling of having something in common.

But the quest made no headway because there is no official view of Luther in the Federal Republic of Germany: neither one held by the government or by more than an individual theologian or ecclesiastical historian.

East Germany initially rejected Luther but since 1980 has increasingly laid claim to him as part of its history.

"Luther's progressive heritage," one of the GDR's 15 theses announced on the eve of Luther Year reads, "is well maintained as part of the socialist German national culture."

But the GDR's official claim to Luther is not undisputed. Max Steinmetz, the Leipzig historian, felt it was fine.

Martin Luther . . . as painted [...] Cranach in 1529.

Rolf Schneider, the East Be[...] disagreed.

Too much attention was p[...] ther's theology, Schneider s[...] expense of part of "the ident[...] man Marxism."

Thomas Müntzer, previ[...] outstanding German progress[...] Reformation period in Ma[...] was being neglected.

Interest in history was on th[...] people were growing tired of[...] cal topics. "I view the comm[...] of the GDR to Luther with [...] tion," he said. "Luther sho[...] nothing whatever to us."

Professor Steinmetz said [...] search on Müntzer was still be[...] ed out in the GDR even if [...] might not be aware of the fa[...]

Luther Year has so far p[...] some doubts, a little hope a[...] great many unresolved issues.

The most open question of [...] role Luther has to play othe[...] history and whether his prese[...] levance extends further than [...] sary celebrations and an inu[...] books about him.

Frit[...]

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, [...])

Uncomfortable question of anti-Semitism

Three years before he died, in 1543, Luther wrote a hate-filled pamphlet entitled On the Jews and Their Lies.

He said their homes and synagogues ought to be put to the flame. Their writings should be destroyed. They themselves should be deprived of human rights.

They should be stripped of their economic base, sentenced to forced labour and finally thrown out of the country. He was all for expelling them.

Four hundred years later, in 1946, the Nazi leader Julius Streicher told the Nuremberg tribunal Luther too ought to be in the dock.

Both Luther's hatred of the Jews and Streicher's bid to justify himself have their place in German history. Neither can be overlooked.

So the organisers of the 1983 Nuremberg Talks were right to include a seminar on Luther and the Jews.

Until 1945 Luther was cited as a witness to German anti-Semitism. Since the war every attempt has been made to avoid linking his name with the persecution of the Jews.

Luther certainly didn't invent anti-Semitism. He was not a racist in his dislike of the Jews either. That was a species which first came to light in the 19th century.

But he was not impervious to the customary clichés of anti-Semitism that had taken shape in his surroundings over the centuries.

Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, European head of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish organisation, dealt in a historical review with the ways in which envy, ill-will, anxiety and Church triumphalism in Western Christendom combined to work against the Jews.

He described the persecution of the Jews during the Crusades as the "uprising of a purportedly Christian mob against the helpless."

Yet Luther cannot be absolved merely with reference to his environment. Tübingen theologist Heiko Oberman was strongly against apologetically referring to him as a child of his era.

It was also wrong to emphasise Luther as a young man, when he seemed to be well-disposed toward the Jews, and play down the older Luther who clearly hated them.

Dr Oberman was particularly opposed to the "twin coalition" theological viewpoint according to which God first allied himself with the Jews, then, in the New Testament, with the Christians.

As long as this theological viewpoint survived, with toxic effect, there would be no basis for reconciliation [...] tual recognition.

Pinchas Lapide, a Jewish e[...] the New Testament, was r[...] level-headed in the way he [...] being God's advocate, or in thi[...] the counsel for Luther.

He chose not to go in for w[...] condemnation and showed g[...] pathy with Luther's earlier wri[...] he was both unable and unwilli[...] cuse Luther's 1543 treatise.

The later Luther particularly [...] the late 19th and early 20th c[...] He was dubbed the German [...] hero in whose name the Germ[...] the Jews, could be seen as the [...] people.

Anti-Semitic, nationalist and [...] tian cooks stirred up a broth [...] of hatred, complacency and m[...] nia. We know what became of th[...]

It is a sad fact that anti-Semit[...] and including Streicher called [...] were able to call on) Luther in [...] of their distasteful ideas.

But for the sake of historical [...] cy one proviso must, Lapide s[...] made.

Luther wanted to strip the Jew[...] ligious, legal and material righ[...] had no visions of physical anni[...] It took the 20th century to thin[...] Holocaust.

(Nürnberger Nachrichte[...])

BEHAVIOUR

[T]hinking behind the sticker lickers

[B]remer Nachrichten

[...] Federal Road Research Establishment in Cologne has made the [...]scientific survey of car stickers and [...] they affect other motorists and safety.

[...] main finding is that stickers on controversial topics such as "mind [...] child" or "prevent cruelty to an[...]ls" are viewed kindly by most moto[...].

[T]hey can even have a positive effect [...] the way motorists behave in traffic. [...] woe betide the motorist whose [sti]cker are in any way didactic! German [mot]orists do not take kindly to school[mas]terly admonitions.

[W]hy do people plaster their cars with [stic]kers in the first place? The main rea[son] the Cologne survey showed time [and] again, was the desire to express a [poin]t of view to others.

[M]otorists who welcome the opportu[nit]y of being their own sandwich [boa]rds may also feel the need to draw [att]ention to the need for greater care [and] attention to hazards in traffic.

One sticker fan in three also feels his [sti]cker is decorative, attractive and an [im]provement to the appearance of his [...]

[Y]ounger motorists are particularly [kee]n on these colourful decorations. [The]y have usually held driving licences [for] less than three years and drive used [...]

[Y]ounger women drivers seem to be [kee]n sticker fans too.

[E]very other car on the road in Ger[man]y has at least one sticker, but the[...] who go in for large numbers of [the]m are definitely in the minority.

Less than one per cent of cars have more than seven, while owners of larger cars, sports cars and convertibles as a rule prefer to do without them altogether. The topics dealt with generally have nothing to do with driving. Only one sticker in four has any connection with traffic. The experts feel this may be to the detriment of road safety. About one motorist in four who does not go in for stickers himself is annoyed by stickers proclaiming views he does not share.

Nearly one in 10 is so annoyed that he tends to be less courteous than usual to the drivers of these other cars.

Particular attention was paid to the effect of 'Beginner' driving stickers. Field trials in urban Cologne indicate that beginners who own up to their inexperience are no more likely to encounter greater consideration than those who don't.

The opposite is more likely to happen. Motorists feel beginners are a potential risk and tend to overtake them more often, to prevent them from changing lanes and not to let them cut in front of their own cars as often as they otherwise might.

This discourtesy is seldom intentional. One motorist in five may suspect that drivers who claim to be beginners are trying to pull the wool over other motorists' eyes, but 82 per cent of motorists polled said they themselves went out of their way to be helpful to beginners.

One reason for the discrepancy between alleged helpfulness and actual ruthlessness could be widespread ignorance and uncertainty about the signs and symbols used.

There are so many different sizes and shapes that motorists may well be confused.

One motorist in 10 had no idea what the letter L might mean.

Nearly one in three felt that the word *Anfänger* (Beginner) was not always printed clearly enough. Road safety experts conclude that stickers must definitely be more clearly comprehensible and easier to read.

Many motorists admitted they often drove closer up to the car in front than they ought so as to be able to read what it said on its sticker.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 June 1983)

Hang on, what's this?

Wrong! Not a picture of solar collectors for a Bavarian housing estate. Nor a collection of boy scouts tents. The boomerang-shaped objects are hang gliders. Pilots from 29 countries were this month in Tegelberg, Bavaria for the world championships. (Photo: Dieter Vogt)

She's the loneliest girl in the whole of Germany

[L]oneliness is more widespread in Bonn than in any other German [...] say Hildegard Schiffer.

[S]he heads a team of 80 who man the [tele]phone "lifeline" service.

[L]ast year there were a record 13,000 [cal]lers. Twenty-six per cent, or 3,400 [com]plained of being sick with loneli[ness].

[F]igures compiled from similar servi[ces] in other centres show that the natio[nal] average is 16 per cent. Frau Schiffer [and] her colleagues have long realised [that] in Bonn the problem lies in the cor[rid]ors of power.

[L]oneliness seems to haunt the civil [serv]ice and the head offices of political [part]ies, organisations and companies: [Mi]nistries and offices have grown so [...] that staff hardly know each other [any]more."

[A]nonymity is fostered by an organi[sati]onal set-up that is aimed at smooth [fun]ctioning and has systematically era[dic]ated opportunities of having a chin[...]

[T]wo-thirds of the lonely callers are [Bo]nn secretaries. "Secretaries," Frau [Sch]iffer says, "used to be attached to a [spe]cific superior officer, handling tele[ph]ons calls and collecting or redirect[ing] files.

"They knew all sorts of people, where[as] secretaries in today's soulless typing [po]ols just type. They don't even type from shorthand notes they have taken themselves in dictation.

"It is all done by cassette, and the voice on the cassette is often that of someone they have never met. They might just as well be living in isolation behind bars."

It's not just from nine till five. The lifeline's rush hour starts at five when people go home from work.

"We have 42,000 single-person households in Bonn," she says. "Two-thirds are women." At home they can feel even lonelier than at work.

The lifeline staff are told to take loneliness seriously. Lonely people tend to cut themselves off from others even more until they are eventually unable to make contact with others any longer.

Alcohol is then often the only way out, while an alarmingly large number of callers contemplate suicide.

The lifeline service runs round the clock. Having someone to talk to is usually much more important than having pills to take.

Bonn has grown increasingly difficult of late for women who live on their own. "We are told more and more often that single women are no longer invited out," Frau Schiffer says.

Many callers complain that they cannot discuss the problem with workmates for fear of being dismissed as mentally unstable.

Men can feel lonely too, of course. In Bonn they are usually civil servants recently transferred to the city.

"They used to be important local government officers and are unable to come to terms with being a small cog in a big machine in Bonn. They often feel lost."

Couples can be lonely too. Ministers' wives whose husbands gallivant all over the world often lament that they couldn't feel lonelier if they were widows.

The Bonn lifeline service now runs individual and group therapy talks to help people to cope with life on their own.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 1 July 1983)

The not wholly popular holy matrimony

Wedlock used to be the only way to the key of the door (a door of one's own, at least). Now many couples prefer not to run the risk.

Living in sin, as it used to be called, does not make them black sheep by today's moral standards. But many critics take a sceptical view of the idea.

Hamburg University psychologists have taken a closer look at married and unmarried couples. Christian Taddei and Johannes Röhl interviewed 135 unmarried and 178 married couples.

Arguably the most important finding was that the unmarrieds by no means feel they are just experimenting; they take their partnership seriously.

They claim to have to devote more care and attention to their companion when not bound by the ties of holy wedlock (or the registry office).

But the life-span of such liaisons is not spectacular. On average the relationship lasts a mere five years.

Married couples argue that it is wrong not to wed if you are serious about the relationship. Marriages have an average life-span of 12 years, which may or may not prove the point.

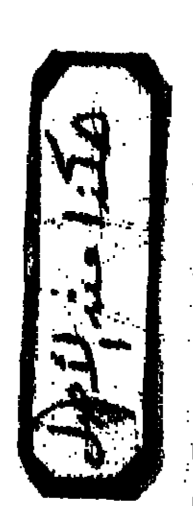
The figure is only an average. A marriage may break down after a year, or it may last for 20 or 40 years.

Where children are concerned, however, the conventional viewpoint is still widespread. Eight out of 10 unmarried couples say they would get married as soon as a child was on the way.

Only 20 per cent feel matrimony is not essential even in the event of parenthood.

The two groups differ significantly in their views on sex with other partners.

Continued on page 14



■ MEDICINE

Doctors cause a row with criticism of how drugs are marketed

The way drugs for medical use are marketed in Germany comes in for severe criticism in a new publication.

Among the criticisms:

- Sleeping pills and tranquillisers are prescribed too often
- Labelling often does not make it clear exactly what the drug should be used for
- It is often not clear what the drug should do, thus making it impossible to work out if the aim of treatment has been achieved
- Possibilities of addiction are not made clear enough.

The volume is published by the Bremen Institute for Preventive and Social Medicine headed by Professor Eberhard Greiser.

A first volume of what has become known as the Greiser List dealt with heart drugs. This second one deals with psychopharmarca which include sleeping pills and tranquillisers plus drugs used to treat severe psychiatric disorders. Both volumes have caused outcries.

BPI, the national federation of the drugs industry, rejects the new publication. It says it puts forward "personal views without significance for medical practice."

The Bremen doctors tested the drugs on the illnesses they are marketed to treat using established scientific methods.

In the first volume it was alleged that many heart drugs were ineffective. The latest volume says sleeping pills and tranquillisers are used too often and when they are not necessary.

It was often unclear which diagnoses call for the prescription of which drug. This was partly due to lack of research.

But not only. Often there were shortcoming in directions for use. Descriptions were inexact because they were written for the layman rather than the doctor.

Sometimes directions were so broad that the aim of the therapy was not described. This made it impossible to work out if treatment objectives had been achieved.

In other cases, manufacturers tended to prescribe tranquillisers for a wide range of conditions where other forms of treatment, such as a talk with a doctor or psychoanalysis, would have been better.

Another major problem was undesirable side effects. Many drugs could lead to addiction. When they were discontinued, the withdrawal effects produced the very symptoms the drugs were supposed to combat, so the patient was put back on the drug.

Less addictive drugs were frequently less effective or had other undesirable side effects.

The authors of the Greiser List stress that the German pharmaceutical industry is lax in drawing attention to the possibility of addiction, unlike manufacturers in other countries.

One American drug marketed in Germany even for infants carried a warning in America that it had not been tested with six-month-olds and could therefore not be safely used for that age group.

The US version of the drug also carried a warning against using it in early pregnancy because studies gave rise to the suspicion that it could lead to the baby's deformation.

The German manufacturer said there was no indication that the drug could lead to malformed babies.

Bromides are classified in the Greiser List as obsolete and no longer to be used due to the danger of poisoning.

Barbiturates fall in the same category because of their severe side-effects and the possibility of addiction.

The list totally rejects compounds with more than one active agent because it is impossible to prove the effectiveness of individual components in drugs containing several active agents. The authors stress that this assessment is in keeping with international standards.

On the other hand, the list take a positive attitude towards the drugs developed for the treatment of severe psychiatric disorders.

It says they are as a major breakthrough by of the pharmaceutical industry and can help alleviate even the worst of psychiatric disorders.

The national federation of the drugs industry (BPI) harshly rejects the Greiser list, describing it as "personal views without significance for medical practice."

A BPI statement goes on to say that Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm wanted the list to carry a preface saying that it expressed the private views of Professor Greiser and his team.

The fact is that the list (financed by the Bonn Labour Ministry) contains a note stating that "the tests and conclusions are those of the Institute."

The Pharmaceuticals Commission of the German Medical Association has been quoted by the BPI as saying that the study is not practice-oriented.

An inquiry at the Commission showed that this referred to the structuring of the list rather than its contents.

The authors have also been accused of having based their findings too few books.

But the authors say that whenever standard literature failed [...] adequate information they [...] the manufacturers for relev[...]

The authors are blamed [...] given a negative assessme[...] whose effectiveness they do[...] suggesting that they were ind[...]

In fact, however, this ap[...] gress of the new list against [...] because it puts more empha[...] possibility of helping a patien[...] nistering a drug that is not ef[...] also has no harmful side-effec[...]

(Bremer Nachrichte[...]

Holy matrimony

Continued from page 13

The unmarried couples are the more *tolerant of the two.*

"Unmarried" women, oddly enough, often feel extremely self-assured and independent, whereas "married" men frequently feel unsure of themselves without their better halves.

Married couples tend to spend more of their spare time together. Unmarrieds keep up a wider range of friendships and acquaintanceships and by no means only go out together.

The Hamburg survey concludes that unmarried couples seem to aim at a more open relationship of which dispensing with marriage lines is only a part.

Ruth Hanser

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 June 1983)

Early warni[...] detector f[...] varicose vei[...]

A device developed at Aa[...] versity which gives earl[...] of varicose veins can make [...] diagnosis in about a minute.

It is expected to be particula[...] ful for treating pregnant wo[...] children.

Some 12 million West Ger[...] fer from varicose veins or hers[...] souses of the veins. Some [...] from them every year.

Until now, the only way of [...] ing the malfunctioning of th[...] that prevent blood from mo[...] flow was painful and costly.

The device is so accurate a[...] convinced even the Americ[...] agency, Nasa. The next flig[...] space shuttle Challenger in th[...] will have one on board.

It will be used to measure [...] ure in the astronauts' veins [...] off when acceleration make[...] feel as if they weighed tons.

Though the procedure is [...] new device itself is technica[...] sophisticated.

A little attachment weighing [...] grammes and registering [...] tions of the skin is attached [...] patient's calf. Three semicond[...] odes emit infrared light while [...] detector registers the reflected [...]

The patient has to move his [...] times within a 15-second period [...] ing a rhythm provided by a metr[...]

After this, the patient stays s[...] thout moving while the visual [...] of the skin surface which occ[...] pressure in the legs rises and [...] recorded.

The device records the chang[...] blood supply during the periods [...] tion and immobility.

Movement reduces the pressu[...] the skin vessels empty beca[...] blood flows into the lower tissu[...]

After the movement of the [...] veins fill again due to the influx [...] rial blood.

Since the valves that preve[...] blood flow from reversing itsel[...] function properly in varicose v[...] ferers, additional blood flow[...] accelerates the filling of the ve[...]

In healthy adults, this filling [...] skin vessels takes at least 30 [...] with varicose veins suffers it [...] much shorter time.

The device, which costs DM[...] marketed by a Cologne pharm[...] company.

Due to a lack of reliable da[...] scourge "varicose veins" the [...] search Ministry is financing th[...] examination of 4,000 childr[...] young people aged between 10 a[...]

Herbert [...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeig[...]

Psychosomatic illnesses and children

Fear of people and fear of the dark; and speech and learning difficulties: these are among the most common behavioural problems that go with psychosomatic ailments, even in small children.

Nailbiting, running away from home, stealing and withdrawal, like other behavioural problems, rarely occur alone.

Before actually falling ill, a child frequently draws attention to its unsolved problems through neurotic behaviour.

These are among the findings of a long-term study on psychosomatic disorders in children. The study was partly financed by the Bonn Health Ministry and carried out by several universities.

Professor Willi H. I. Butollo: "So far, we know very little about the social, family and other psychological conditions that lead to psychomatic disorders."

As a result, he says, counsellors on psychosomatic disorders are usually less well equipped to deal with them than with purely neurotic symptoms. Moreover, parents fail to see that flight *into sickness is the consequence of a psychological disorder.*

The list of risk factors starts with the beginning of pregnancy, its course and subsequent birth. It includes an early separation of mother and child, illnesses of the child or other family members and severe atmospheric disturbances in the family due to problems between the parents along with the fact that the mother works, broken homes and changes in the environment.

"The problem lies in the difficulty of tackling a wide variety of 'risk bundles' with the necessary attention to each risk factor," says Professor Butollo in a report to the Research Service of Munich Universitiy.

The study covered 40 children between six and 16 with a psychosomatic disorder.

The diagnoses went into the origins of the disorders which included asthma, obesity, head- and stomach aches and eczema. On average, the illness lasted for five years.

Almost all children with asthma or eczema showed early indications that there was something wrong at pre-school age. The disease proper revealed itself at the latest, at school age.

Talks with parents showed that single working mothers whose children frequently fall ill are more readily prepared to seek expert help than married women who look after their children at home.

Professor Butollo: "Only the sum total of therapy factors leads to success."

They include a sound personal contact with the patient, stimulating creativity and discussion and, naturally, the psychotherapist's instinct along with the knowledge that every psychosomatic patient is different.

dpa

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 7 July 1983)

■ MODERN LIVING

The innocents who are punished by the courts

[...]urts meting out prison sentences [...]unish not only criminals but also [...]xt-of-kin.

[...]oman aged 42 with three children [...] through a severe crisis when her [...]nd went to prison for theft.

[...]e woman, wife of a highly paid [...] collar worker, suddenly found [...]f relying on social security pay[...]s.

[...]e various instalment payments the [...]e had managed comfortably could [...]nger be met. The mountain of debt [...]welled by legal costs.

[...]e woman withdrew from friends [...]cquaintances and increasingly re[...]n tranquillisers. In the end, she [...]s isolated from the rest of the [...] as her husband in his cell.

[...]r case is among those quoted by [...]ogist Paul Fülbier, an assistant at [...]ountry's only university depart[...] in the field of prisoner's assistance [...]uppertal University.

[...] is co-author of the study "On the [...]ion of the Next-of-Kin of Priso[...] — Analysis and Assistance Plan[...]", commissioned by the Bonn Mi[...]y for Youth, Family Affairs and [...]th.

[...]e fact that the lot of relatives of [...]ners has received virtually no at[...]on so far has several reasons.

[...]iminology deals with the criminal [...]his crime and lately also with the [...]s. It does not deal with the next-[...]n.

[...]ough there are some overworked [...]sters and social workers looking [...] the needs of prisoners and, occa[...]ally, their families, only 30 of North [...]e-Westphalia's 164 prisons offer [...]ily and marriage counselling.

[...]l non-governmental welfare agen[...] can do is to give the released con[...] a little cash.

[...] initial evaluation of the study [...] that the next-of-kin of prisoners [...] considerable psychological and so[...] problems.

[...]ey can find themselves in a moral [...]ict like one woman who considers [...]entence meted out to her husband [...]cially justified but nevertheless de[...]d him among her acquaintances [...] eventually turning her back on [...]

[...]ough she was enraged with her [...]nd for having put his family in [...] position, she was still attached to [...]

[...]e prisoner and his family rarely get [...]pportunity to talk it out thoroughly. [...] rule, a prisoner may receive visi[...] only once a month and then only [...] hour.

[...]uring the visit they face each other [...] embarrassment and make small [...] The prison official sitting at the adjoining table can hear every word and watches every moment.

Only few couples are capable of or willing to express themselves by letter. Moreover, the customary censorship is inhibiting. The result of this limited communication is that couples become estranged.

The women on the outside become more independent and learn to fend for themselves while the men inside become increasingly dependent, like children. Most of them are aware of this development and bear it with jealous resentment. They see their traditional male role in jeopardy. To make matters worse, the men frequently get out of touch with reality.

Many prisoners rediscover their love for their wives — at least for the duration of their imprisonment — even if they have frequently loathed and abused them for years.

They write impassioned love letters while at the same time fearing that their wives have become unfaithful. There is a constant nagging mistrust.

There are also problems when a prisoner goes home on parole. Many women consider themselves overburdered and not taken seriously enough when that happens.

Since the man does not understand his wife's everyday problems, he is convinced that he is the only one who has to suffer.

He tries to tell her what to do and orders the children around to show that he is still the boss although he realises that life at home goes on without him.

Tenderness soon becomes a forgotten art in prison where only those are seen as men who can credibly boast of all sorts of adventures.

During parole these men feel as misunderstood as their wives. There are frequent fights which dampen the joy in anticipating the next parole.

But it would be wrong if this led to the conclusion that the usual 21-day parole periods are superfluous for both prisoners and their next-of skin.

The experts demanded more parole, shorter prison terms, more seminars with prisoners, their wives and children or more comprehensive help for the next-of-kin in their hometowns.

If prisoners could see their wives more frequently, there would be fewer relapses later, social workers say.

Practitioners know that many women get divorced shortly before their imprisoned husbands are to be released because they fear what experts call the reality shock. When this happens, it is almost certain that the ex-prisoner will soon run afoul of the law again.

It is a known fact that there is a high divorce rate even during custody pending trial, but there are no exact figures on this.

Children also suffer when the father goes to prison. The mother frequently tells them that the father has been sent to do a job abroad — if for no other reason because she does not want the children to spread the true story in the neighbourhood.

But word gets around anyway. Often, the children are brutally told the truth by neighbours or classmates and then feel deceived by the mother.

One prisoner's 10-year-old son became aggressive, defending the family honour with his fists. His teachers described him as rebellious and recalcitrant. The youth authority suggested that he be put in a home and his mother agreed.

The two daughters, aged 6 and 7, refused to go out of the house and started bed-wetting. Both symptoms, aggression and regression, are common in such cases.

Two examples show possible approaches to family social work.

The first one is the counselling service of the Workers Social Welfare Agency in Duisburg which (like some other institutions in Gelsenkirchen, Düsseldorf and Hagen) is supported by the North Rhine-Westphalian Justice Ministry.

The 18-month courses are only available to married people and their children. After two preparatory meetings the prisoners and their families meet for a one-week seminar over Easter.

The seminar starts with a stocktaking by discussing problems that had often existed before the man went to prison: heavy drinking, unemployment, carelessness with money and generally poor family relations.

Some couples say that never before have they talked so much with each other.

For women, this provides an opportunity to openly air their doubts in their husbands' promises ("I'll do everything differently when I get out").

But frequently the women have to be told that their attitude has indirectly contributed to the crime.

Disappointments, expectations and wishes are put into words and new ways of coping with problems are practised: don't shout when there are problems and don't start flailing around.

Another thing the participants in the seminar learn is to tell the spouse what they like about him or her.

Everybody at the seminar must find his own answer to the most important question: "What am I still prepared to invest in this relationship?"

At the end of the seminar the participants are assigned such clear tasks as to make sure that the letters they write express their true feelings and depict true events — despite the censorship.

After a six-week break, this is followed by a three-day meeting. Then, in August there is yet another one-day meeting plus one weekend each during the autumn and in December.

These long-term seminars can lead to more honesty in the family, and this provides the basis for a clear decision on whether to separate after the prisoner is released or to make a new start together.

The second model is provided by a Darmstadt team that has been assisting prisoners for the past four-and-a-half years by helping "where the women work and the children go to school," as social worker Helmut Ortner describes the concept.

The Darmstadt group works in conjunction with kindergarten, churches, women's groups and *Pro Familia.*

The Münster meeting called on the state to become the advocate of the next-of kin of prisoners who are penalised along with the criminal. After all, the participants in Münster argued, by punishing the family along with the criminal the state interferes with the very family life that is protected by the Constitution.

The experts in Münster further argued that family social work was good but contemplating alternatives to imprisonment was better.

Ortner: "Why can fathers not remain with their children, keep their jobs and pay a hefty fine in instalments?

Siegfried Knop of the Workshop for Assistance to Prisoners comments: "Weire too quick to put people in prison."

Ulrike Walden

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 July 1983)